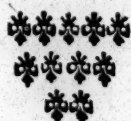


HISTORICAL
MEMOIRES
ON
THE REIGNS
OF
QUEEN
ELIZABETH,
AND
KING *JAMES.*



LONDON:
Printed by *J. Grismond*, and are to be
sold by *T. Robinson* Bookseller
in *Oxon.* 1658.

HISTORICAL
MEMOIRS

OF
THE REIGN
OF
JAMES
SECOND


AND
OF THE
REIGN
OF
JAMES
THIRD

LONDON
Printed by J. Knapton, at the
Sign of the Sun in St. Dunstons
Church-yard, 1704.



THE
EPISTLE.

My dear LUCILIUS,

 Do here leave to your better *Education* another *Daughter* of my *Brain*, that may not unpossibly pass with the less *Scandal*, because *chast* from any desire after *new & forbidden Discoveries*, or of disturbing that huge *Trade Antiquity & Custom* drive; the *first* amongst *Scholars*, who think it a sufficient excuse in the justification of a *stunted Knowledge*, to maintain an impossibility of transcending the *Abilities*

A 3 of

The Epistle.

of *former Ages*, yet cannot gainsay a visible *improvement* in their *own*; which happily would be greater, were *Learning* left *free* to every ones sense, and not confin'd to *Patterns* and *old Formes*, harder many times to be imitated or made use of, than *new ones* found, which being *our own*, would appear more naturall and adapted to the present understandings, in many things strangers to the Usances of *the Ancients*: where-as the *second* serves as an *universall Chain*, by which the generality are led to approve or dislike the *Words*, *Actions* and *Gestures* of others; Whose judgments, as I have long since not much valued, so have I a little wondred at *Age*, to finde it so tetchy, when *Younger* in years lay any claim to *Knowledge*: Since the goodnesse of the *Eye*, and advantage of *Place*, and not a long poring, discovers the *Prospect*;
more

The Epistle.

more of *London* being surveyable in a minute from *Pauls Steeple*, than can be seen in an age out of *Cheapside*: There remaining nothing in this world *Prescription* hath a weaker title to than *Wisdom*, the legitimate Daughter *Experience* brings forth to an able and active Understanding. For though all things are found to owne, in process of time, a publick vicissitude, yet for the most part it is too slow and cunningly carried, to be discerned at any distance (especially in relation to the present) which way it turns. The ignorant Traveller may see by the Diall, the Time is in a declension; but, without entering the Church or Court, shall be never the wiser as to the knowledge of the true and proper Cause of the Motion. For my selfe, I confesse I am more highly bound to Letters, than any acquired advantage or naturall

The Epistle.

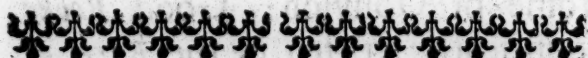
endowment self-partiality or others indulgence hath hitherto been able to estate me in. Now if some, owners of such *parts* as I am conscious of the want of, did prosecute the like *Study*, having a *purse* and *will* to purchase a sight of the *Intelligence*, *Negotiations*, *Conferences* and *Transactions* of all those that have resided in *Embassy* with our *Princes*, they might no question be able to compose a more exact *Chronicle* than *this Nation* ever saw of her own: and for *Elegancy*, it would, like *honey*, drop out of the same *leaves* he gathered his Information from; *Epistles* being the *quintessence* of the *Writers* judgment, as they are undoubtedly the *Elixir* of his *Rhetorick*. And he that desires a more exemplary manifestation of this infallible (though for ought I ever observed, seldom practised) *Truth*, may finde it in
that

The Epistle.

that *learned Italian's History of the Council of Trent*; a Piece that challenges all the *veneration* our partial *Modern Readers* do or can offer at the *Shrines of Antiquity*; a folly sure not so conversant in the world before *Printing*, otherwise the most part of *New Books* from time to time had still been buried in their *Swadling-clouts* for want of *Transcription*, which few or none would now foul their fingers ends about, as not esteeming it worth the labour, out of sloth or contempt: So far, as the *Stationers* meer *zeal to Gain*, rather than any propensity to the *advancement of Learning*, did for a while keep *Bacon, Rawleigh*, and divers incomparable *Spirits* more, from perishing at the bottom of *Oblivion*; *Good Books* (anciently written in the *Bark of Trees*, and now) running, in their progress, so exactly the fate of
Acorns,

The Epistle.

Acorns, that if their chance be to withstand the *Swinish Contamination* of their own *Age*, and *trampling* into the *dirt of Contempt*, they do not feldome afterwards become the *Gods* of the *Nations*, and have *Temples* dedicated to their *Worship*; As their *Authors* in this participate with other *good men*, who attain not to a state of *Glory* till after this *Life*.



TRADITIONAL
MEMOIRES
ON
THE RAIGNE
OF
QUEEN
ELIZABETH.



L O N D O N:
Printed for T. Robinson Bookseller
in Oxon. 1658.

TRADITIONAL
MEMOIRS
OF
THE RAIGNE
OF
ELIZABETH.

LONDON
Printed by J. B. Nichols
in Oxford Street.

To the READER.

T*Hough the study of History
be an ancient Prescript for
the avoiding of Ignorance,
and production of Know-
ledge, and to this day far more in use
than any other Politick Aphorismes:
Yet with reverence to this confessed
excellent Dose of others approved
Experiments, I doubt not but Prin-
ces and men in Power might finde a
readier, if not a more infallible way
to Prudence, by being conversant in
all sorts of Letters relating to Em-
bassadors, and such Spies and Mi-
nisters (of Common-wealths espe-
cially) as are employed abroad or at
home in the Transactions of Treaties,
where all things appear bare fac'd and
at first hand, not smuttred with In-
terest,*

boog

To the Reader.

terest, or adulterated by the red and white paint of Envy, Fear or Flattery. Nor is the frequent opportunity of discoursing with Contemporaries (who having enjoyed a Nearer Light, cannot but have seen more than those by Time and Birth placed at a remoter distance) any despicable Ingredient in the Composition of an exact Statesman; of which I finde few that deserve (in my judgement) the title, commonly forfeited to an over-remissness or excess in Sanctity or Profaneness; or, if you will, to Hypocrisie or Scandall, which at long running will meet both with the same Inconveniencies. To be sure, my selfe have as little propensity or sufficiency in this Art; being no less obstructed through mulets received from Fortune then Nature; the later of which is as uncapable of amendment, as the first is unlikely to finde it: (For after the death of a
good

To the Reader.

good Father, being driven into a corner of the world by Injuries received from the nearest of Kindred and remotest of Friends, I was not onely invited by Leisure, but compell'd through Necessity to seek these Diversions: In which if I be mistaken, the Pardon cannot be long in suing out, since I hope they shall not meet with a severer Judge than my selfe, for whose Recreation alone they were intended.) Though the small insight I have had into Affairs did not seldome gratifie my spleen with as much delight, as it may have not unpossibly affected less sanguine Complexions with tury or disdain, to see the Varlet brought into play, where discretion called for an higher and more exact Courtier; or to hear the People wrangle, & cast about their mony, through a phanatick desire to discard a present Government; not foreseeing, their hopes may possibly be deluded in the same,

To the Reader.

same, if not a worse Stock than they make out and lay by ; often bartering a pack of Fools for a like quantity of Knaves and Mad-men : The giddy multitude being far likelier to be out in their account, then this advised Adage , Seldome comes a better ; especially if no wiser heads be found in the Election then their own.

Nature hath employed three Senses chiefly to wait on the Body , and but two on the Minde ; yet under this advantage, that these last are distinctly double : For which of them we stand most obliged to Nature , is not yet pass'd decision ; since though in regard of Pleasure , Sight may have the Royalty, yet in respect of Wisdome, the Prerogative must not be denied to Hearing : It being the far greater Wonder to finde a prudent man Deaf, then Blind ; so as some are recorded to have put out their Eyes, as enemies to Contemplation. It is radi-

To the Reader.

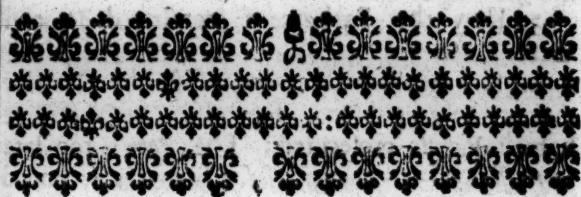
ordinarily affirmed, I have seen this or that, when the most of it hath arrived at us from Report. And in this sense I may be said to have seen these, and a number more, which out of respect to others Fame, or mine own Safety, I wilfully omit. But lest this Confession might seem to cast a veil of prejudice over the face of that Truth I here expose to the curious eyes of this Age, as nakedly as Modesty will give a toleration for, I shall say in behalf of Tradition, That all Books are her Tenements, and contain little of History, whatever they may do of Invention, but what they hold from the Manner of some Report or other. Nor hath the beginning, to be sure, if possibly the end and period of any Nation God in his love did establish, or fury destroy, a more faithful Register than Traditional Reports; not commonly loading its memory with the exact calculation of Time, which rightly weighed,

E H T

To the Reader.

weighed, is but the pedantick part of History, and so not unlikely the cause we finde such differences raising amongst our Chronologers; the main fons or bottome of her account being no farther corresponstble, than for a just and even balancing her layings out with what she hath received. To conclude with an Answer to those that may require some account of the present Undertaking; I think it far on this side such Impudence as Ignorance is found to plaister her Libels with against incomparable Queen Elizabeth, to own a strength able, (especially where Desert lies so thick upon her Tomb) to rub off wherewithall to gild her Name, though the manner of doing it may stain mine own; since the few spots discernable in her Government are hidden, like those this Ages curiosity hath detected in the Sun, from any farther notice, by the splendor of the rest.

THE



THE
Principall HEADS
Of the following
MEMOIRES
On the Reign of
QUEEN
ELIZABETH.

1. **Q**ueen Elizabeth her moderate carriage
at first, till exasperated by the Popes
rashnesse. Why the Infancy of her
Reigne continued quiet, notwithstanding so
greate a shake and turn in Religion——

2. — To

The principall Heads

2. ——— To which she was in a manner necessitated.

3. How the Parliament confirmed It and Her.

4. She breaks with Spain, assists the Dutch, makes Leagues abroad, suppresses Conspiracies at home: Papists prosecuted; The Pope's too late Concession ——— being refused ——— is seconded with an Interdict, ——— which proves fatal to the Papists, and ——— Queen of Scots, ——— Her death and the D. of Norfolk's, &c. ——— Con-
fured.

5. Q. Eliz. galls the Spaniard: Cales voyag under Essex ——— gets him Love and Envy.

(6. The Queen foments Factions at home, and what use she makes of them, and of ——— her own Inconstancy. The Spanish Armado in 88.)

7. The Queens favour to Essex, ——— how often by him hazarded: His quarrell with Blunt ——— designed for his Rival.

8. His Enemies restless endeavours to ruin him ——— by setting him on high; his ample Irish Commission.

A Character of the Q. Court, Majesty, Thrift: Provisions rated, Exactions of Purveyors punished. ———

9. ——— A witty Example thereof in Kent.

10. Her Houshou'd-Servants the goodliest of Person, &c. that could be got: ——— as

11. ——— Her Council the choicest for Prudences: ——— apparent in her Marriage Treaties with Spain and France.

12. Her Councils Integrity. Offices the reward of

of the following Memoires.

of Merit. Her exact Intelligence. B. Bancroft's Art in dividing the Jesuites and Regulars. — afforded him Popish Intelligence: His Character: His endeavours for Uniformity of worship — hindered by the influence of the two clashing Factions at Court upon the other Bishops, &c.

13. Letters of State writ in a plain Style, — involving sometimes an obscure sense, as those about her Marriages with France.

14. Court Hospitality.

15. Her prudence in receiving Treats from her more ambitious Subjects; how she diverted their humour of Popularity.

16. She opposes the Declaration of a Successor, and why: Denies the Parliaments Petition for her Marriage.

17. Contrary Reports about her Concupiscence: Her Art of Government and choice of Ministers: Why some of less Abilities were taken in afterwards: E. of Nottingham Admirall; his Character. The Queen sparing in giving Honours, or suffering her Subjects to accept them from Foreign Princes: Examples thereof in Sir F. Vere, Sir W. Rawly, Sir Mat. Arundel, Sir P. Sidney.

18. Her modesty in point of Augmentation of Empire; refusing the Dutch as Subjects, though she took their Cautionary Towns; and Havre de Grace — to regain Calis. The Spaniard by cutting off the Heads of the Dutch Nobility, makes way for the springing up of their Hydra of Popular Government.

19. Lei-

The principall Heads

19. Lecesters hopes of marrying the *Queene*; his freedome of discourse with her about *It*, and otherwise. His Character.

20. In *Forreign Injuries* she never precipitated *Revenge*.

21. *Parliaments* frequent, and consequently moderate: she restraines their *Debates* about *Succession* and *Religion*: Keeps the *Church* humble, and carries fair with her *Parliament*. The *Schismatics* leave *England*; how it might have been (safely) prevented; what hindred it; the fatall inconveniences of those proceedings.

22. *Ireland* neglected, and why: The Lord *Mountjoy* ends the *War*: The baseness of the *Natives* — how much *Priest ridden*.

23. *Essex* unfortunate *Expedition* thither; — *Cecil*s artifice to fetch him back, to — his *Death*; — From which, neither the *Love* of the *People*, nor of the *Q.* his *Mistress*, could baile him, and — After which she never joyed; — The occasion of her *Death* — reported to proceed from the *Countess* of *Notingham*s not delivering the *Q.* a *Ring*, sent her by *Essex*, (to whom she had formerly given it as a *Pledge* of her *Affection*, and his *Safety*) which the *Countess* on her *Death-bed* discovering to the *Queene*, was by her sent with *curses* instead of *forgiveness*, into another world.

24. After *Essex* death, *Cecil* being left without controll, not only urges the *Q.* to declare *James* her *Successor*, but uses other endeavours to effect the same.

25. The

of the following Memoires.

25. The happy condition Q. Eliz. left England
n. No considerable Enemy. How we stood re-
lated to other nations — Spain, Ireland, France,
Netherlands, &c.

26. How at home, as to Parliaments, Credit,
Treasure, Debts, Justice, The Church.

27. The Conclusion.



Some



of the following Members

27. The Conclusion.
28. The Church.
29. How alphas as to Parliament.
30. The Church.
31. The Church.
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100. The Church.

Some



Some
Traditionall Memorials
 on the Reigne of
Queene Elizabeth.

I.



After the death of
Mary, eldest daughter
 of *Henry the*
eighth, had delivered
 this Nation (for
 that time) from an imminent *danger*
 of becoming *Tributary* to the *Spa-*
nish King (who owne none for a
 naturall Subject, indued with lesse
 Pride and Austerity then may serve

B

to

to face a Tyranny equall to the *Grand Signior's*) And left the Crowne to her sister *Elizabeth*, not only swept and washed from all *Competition* or *Claimes* by the bloud of *Queene Jane*, but garnished with the applause and consent of the people; no less amazed at the huge fires she had daily kindled to devoure the enemies of the Court of Rome, then jealous of the partiality shewne to the *Priests*, whose exactions were become no lesse odious in things temporall, then their latine *Mumfimus* had made them appeare in what related to the worship of God; Edward the sixth's reigne being too short to give them a satiety, or make all the inconveniences appeare, likely to follow so totall a defection from a Church revered by all Christian Princes besides; It might be no weake motive to the new *Queene*, so fairely to demean her selfe at first that

that though she entertained the *Pro-*
testants in hope, no perswasions
 could tempt her to cast the *Papists*
 into *dispare*, till the *Pope* (better
 seen in the *Dignity* belonging to his
greatnesse, then the *Arts* his *Prede-*
ecessors had used in their conduct to
 it) did, by denying her *Embassa-*
dors a favorable *Reception*, reduce
 her to a present necessity, of *re-*
nouncing the Roman Miter, or her
 pretence to that *Crowne* she had
 without any considerable oppositi-
 on so happily posselt: There being
 no way so probable to continue *Her*
 in power, after the *Popes* so publike
 manifestation of a *blemish* in her
Birth, as by adhering to a *Party*
 which during the Reigne of her *Si-*
ster, did justify in the flames of a
 hot persecution, That the *Autho-*
rity of his Holinesse was spurious it
selfe, and the owners of it no better
 then *Anti-Christ*s: Which attempt

of hers might possibly have worse succeeded, but for the *protection* *Philip the second* afforded during the *infancy of her power*, flattered to it in *hope of Marriage*, no lesse then compelled out of a feare to see *England* possessed by the *Scots*, a people ever *in conjunction* with *France*, and therefore likely to prove *malignant* to his affaires. And as these considerations had made him solicitous of *her safety* during *his Match* with *her Sister*, they continued still so prevalent as he did not only *forbeare him selfe*, but restrayned *others* from making use of that advantage, so *totall a defection* could not but afford. Nor was the aspect of a *Councill* then sitting in *Trent*, (to which she omitted not to send her Ministers) of small consequence to her designe; Because not only *this nation*, but all *Europe* were in the strongest of their labour to produce

duce a *Reformation*; Though farre short of the pretences of *Luther*: To whose *memory* the *Queene* had an unappeasable *feud*, ever since he upbrayded her Father with the *Reputation* of *Charles the fifts Sister*: whose *birth* by this became so unhappy, as to be not only disapproved by the *Catholicks*, but the *Founder* of that *profession* she meant to establish. Nor were the *Religious houses and lands*, possessed promiscuously by those of both tenents, a weak shelter to this *new Princesse*, looked upon by all as the likeliest and most obliged person to keepe them from reverting to their antient use; And therefore in hope to be *vigorously asserted* by the *Protestants*, and at worst but *weakly opposed* by such as had not yet quite relinquished the *Roman yoke*.

2. And that the *penners of this Story* may be as free from the imputation

putation of *Malice* as *Ignorance*, though they acknowledge *Her* rather *thrown*, then of her selfe *fallen* from the *obedience of Rome*, is deducible from the *Ceremonies used at her Inauguration*, all purely *Catholike*, and the *retention of the Ring, Crosse and Surplice*, contrary to the grayne of her *strongest assertors*: From whence her ayme may be ghest as not poynting at a greater *dissent* from the *doctrine of Rome* then her *Fathers proceedings* had chalked her out; Commanding the *Common prayer book* (which contains most of the *Masse* in english) to be publikely read, And its opposers the *Brownests, Anabaptists, Family of Love* with a number of other *crawling errors*, the unnaturall heate of *Luthers disputes* had produced like *Insects* over all *Germany*, to be *restrained* under no slighter *penalty* then *Death* or *Imprisonment*.

Not

Nor was she tempted to this out of a vainer hope then to draw *her neighbour-Princes* to the same resolution, already in dispaire of procuring good from any milder indeavours then those of power (The *Roman Courtiers* participating so much of the nature of the *Mules* they ride on, as they will rather indure through a sullen *obstinacy*, the last extremity, then remove never so little out of their track of *honour and profit*; no lesse manifest through all Ages, then in their carriage towards *this Princesse* and their later proceedings with the *Republique of Venice*) From whence more *connivance* then *love*, fell to the share of the *Puritans*, that abhor'd the lenity of the Queene, in not countenancing such as bent their force against the *Church of Rome* (betwixt *which* and the *Court* there may be a wider difference then our grosser dis-

putes will suffer us to discerne) from whose practice, though some desired a *Reformation*, a farre greater part thought it damnable to reject it quite: few yet acknowledging any *Descent* or *Ordination* but what was derived from the *Catholick Church* a terme of too great a Latitude to be concealed for a day, much lesse for whole ages, as many indeavour to prove. But leaving these disputes to Dr *Fuell* and the rest of her *Divines* (at that time better able to play the *Scholars prize*, then any amongst the *Fryers*, were found in their *Answers*) Her *Functo*, in which she had a choyce number consisting of both *Factions*, did think it prudence not to stray farther then the inexorable necessity of the time compeld, from that union of *Doctrine* which had a *Councill* to vouch, That *no faith was to be held with any but themselves*; which must have rendered

rendered all her *Leagues* voyd or uselesse, to the very *Othes* she took of her Subjects: yet notwithstanding these *Shackles* she spunne out *along* and as *happy a Raigne* as ever this Nation did injoy.

3. The precedent Reasons joyn-
ing forces with the *deplorable con-*
dition she lived in during the Go-
vernment of her Sister, and meeting
with so Fortunate a *Catastrophe*,
caused a no lesse *consternation* in
the hearts of the *Papists* (already
much broken and unsetled in their
passage through so many suddaine
and unexpected *changes*) then it
produced joy in those of the *Refor-*
mation, who apprehending her suc-
cesse as issuing out of the immediate
care God had of their affaires, became
so farre *incouraged* and *sedulous*,
that whilst the other party stood
amazed in an expectation which way
this *new Princesse* would incline,

the ensuing *Parliament* was wholly made up of such persons, as had already *voted* in their words and actions every thing the *Queene* could desire to have confirmed in the *House*: so as no side but were mistaken in their account, the *Protestants* gaining more, and the *Catholics* lesse then could be expected, to the taking the title of *head of the Church*, and conferring it on her Majesty, which was thought unsutable to her *Father* and *Brother*, and therefore farre more unbecoming the person of a *Woman*; the cause a *Declaration* was not long after issued out, to shew in what senses it was to be understood. And to prove they more intended the limitation of the *Roman power*, then to secure themselves from *Tyranny* at home, an *Act* was passed inabling the *Queene* and *Commissioners* for the time being, to alter or bring what
Cere-

Ceremonies or Worship they thought decent into the *service of God*, without excepting that formerly exploded: whereby a *returne*, (likeliest to be made use of) or a *farther remove* was left arbitrary at the will of the *Queene*: whose *Successors* not being mentioned in the *Act*, left roome to question, *It ought to be no longer in force then her life*, For whose gratification alone *her Privy Counsell* (that did then and indeed almost all her time *gouverne Parliaments*) had intended it. But *King James* and the *Bishops* finding the *Advantake* it brought *the Crowne*, no lesse then *the Church*, did not only owne it amongst the *Statutes* unrepealed and in force, but did *print* it with a *Proclamation* to strengthen it, at the beginning of the book of *Common Prayer*. Neither had *the high Commis- sion* any better vizard to face the
Tyranny

Tyranny daily practised by the *Clergy*, but what the authority *this Act* did afford ; which may one day tempt the people to a new, if not a more dismall *Reformation*, after experience hath taught them how pernicious it is to intrust either *Prince* or *Priest* with any power capable of abuse: yet to the *honour* of *this Princess* it may justly be said, that she never made use of her owne liberty to inflave the nation, but repaid or rather exceeded in *thanks* and *acknowledgments* all power they gave her; an *Art* lost in these latter times, or thought unkingly. But I leave this *her wisdom* to be justified by the happy successe.

4. After *the Queene* had in *Parliament*, cleansed her *birth* from all the *spots* the *poyson* of *tongues* had aspersed her with, and received for the future from the *Houses* in the
name

name of the *three Estates* a promise of Assistance, together with an Oath of Obedience, by which she might rest secure from within; her next indeavour was to line and fortify her *out works*: In the prosecution of which she was forced through Reason of State upon a deeper ingratitude then I believe any thing but an impulsive necessity could have cast her into: For after a firme settlement she became the severest Scourge to Spaine, that it ever had, since emancipated from the *Moors*. The occasion of which some lay at the haughty and proud Gate of the Spaniard, who grew implacable after he found he was deluded of his hope to marry her; others to a nature residing in all Princes, not to acknowledge any friends or kindred but what are alized to a capacity of doing them some future good; which Philip the second was not likely to do

do upon any remoter occasion then *the possession of her person* ; his ends being intent upon *an absolute Monarchy*, which obliged not only *England*, but all the *Princes in Europe* to oppose him. Nor could any *favour* received in the relation of a *private person* bind her more to requitall, then greater injuries did to revenge: Therefore since she forgave *the latter*, when she had power to have taken it without danger, she seemes more excusable in omitting *the first*, which could not have beene done without losse, and exposing her subjects to a visible inconvenience, if not a totall ruine.

Yet this is manifest in the histories on both sides, that *the Queene* did by way of *mediation*, long endeavour for a milder Governing of *his Dutch Subjects* (of whose oppression both Heaven and Earth are witnesses) before a Sword was drawne

drawne in their defence. And for the *Treasure taken at Sea*, and at first owned but as *borrowed*, it was not more then the *Faith of England* might have been a sufficient security for, without being made the subject of a warre. Nor did the *Catholike King* remaine long in a condition able to distresse the *affayres of England*, his power being diverted through a *male contented party* that stood up for *Religion* in the *Netherlands*, at first fomented by *France*, and after more cordially assisted by our *Queene*; who delighted more from her first assumption to power in *raising broyles*, and making her selfe an *arbitrator* of others differences, then in any *quarrell* contracted of her *owne*: by which she did not only keep her selfe in *plight at home*, by sparing *mony* (*harder parted with by the English then blond*) but gained

gained so much *reputation abroad*, as no publique or private indeavours of *his holinesse* could stop other nations (already scandalized at his base and unworthy *Fugling* in the *Councill*) from confirming or making new or straighter *Leagues with England* then formerly they had done: looking upon *her Defection* as the precedent they might one day be forced to follow, in case the *Court of Rome* continued still her *Contumacy towards Princes*: And therefore likelier to meet her with *comfort and assistance*, then any *force to oppose her*. From whence *his Holinesse* was necessitated, in vindication of his *honour*, to imploy the *Jesuits*, *his owne emissaries*, by *Artifice*, *Poyson* or the *Knife* to bring about that *his sword* was not able to execute; so as *the peace of her Kingdome* was at first more interrupted through *privy Conspiracies*

practises then open force: which according to the guise of all *unsuccessfull Treasons*, turned to the disadvantage of themselves and their party, the poore *Catholickes*; against whom nothing in relation to the generality remaines upon due prooffe sufficient to justify the *severity of the Lawes* daily enacted and put in execution against them; wherewith they were ground in pieces between the *Popes Obstinacy*, and a *Jealousy* these practises bred in their naturall *Prince*; by whom they were without question prosecuted rather out of *fear* then *malice*: which *his Holinesse* at length perceiving did offer what he before denied, which was to *confirm her Title*, and *ratify the use of the Common-Prayer*, with the most of what the *Parliament* had confirmed upon her; provided she would receive them as favours from the *Apostolical*

call Sea. But after this *his too late*
compliance had cast him into their
 condition that have unadvisedly
out stood the Market, he in no shal
 lower Malice then dispaire, cast
 not only the person of the *Queen*
 but the *whole Nation* under a bot
 tomlesse *Interdict*; which was thun
 dered out at *Rome*, and hung like a
 squib by one *Felton* upon the *Bishop*
of London's Gate, where after the
 execution of the party that did it
 all other malignancy ceased but
 what fell upon his owne creatures
 who till then were not *forbidden* to
communicate (in publique service) w
 with the *Church of England*, and so
 harder to be discovered, then sincery
 this open rupture. Nor was the
Queene of Scots (whose *Tragical*
History is to be found every where
 written at large) more obliged to
 her *Catholick Father*, through
 whose incouragement she was temp
 ted

lated to assume the Title and Armes
 of England very unseasonably du-
 ring her husbands sicknesse, and
 before her owne Kingdome was
 settled, or any considerable force
 manifested, in her favour: It not
 pleasing France it selfe (of whose
 King she was after the Relict) to
 see all Britanny united under one
 Crowne: and from whence dropped
 so much of the venome of Jealousy
 into the hearts of Elizabeth and
 her Counsell, as no meanes was
 left unsought likely to distresse her,
 especially by the Puritan party,
 whose safety lay in her destruction;
 and who shunned no undecency car-
 rying any probability of being in-
 strumentall in her remove; forget-
 ting that the persons of Princes
 have been thought by all wise men
 too sacred to have any hand or Ju-
 stice appeare in their death but
 Gods. Now as these studied all
 waies

waies to *destroy her*, so there was as considerable a Faction in the *English Court* that desired her *preservation*, the cause not only that held her *long captive* (many wishing her *restraint* that abhorred her *execution*) but deterred all who had either estate or honour to loose from attempting in their owne person, or conniving at any other likely to be so wicked as to make her away: though our *Queene* may be found in many of her *Letters* intimating so much to such as kept her, who were so wise as not to understand what was meant, else they might have fallen into the fortune of *Davison*, who unadvisedly venturing *betweene* the *honour* and *safety* of his *Prince*, was ground to nothing betwixt the *fury* of one party and *shame* of the other: Thus because no body either would or durst do it *alone*, there-
proach

proach was intayled upon the whole Nation, by the apparition of a *mi-
micall and counterfeit Justice: Rea-
son of State* in such *nice points* as
these, being so contrary to that in
the Schooles, as it is *most safe and
honourable* when it hath the *least
Authority* to vouch it. And if the
Actors of this *Tragedy* had not
found more security from the *long
reigne of Elizabeth*, then the *ap-
plause* they had from *Scotland* was
able to have afforded them upon
the next change, I believe so ma-
ny of *their race* had not fate in the
house of Lords. Nor was the *amo-
rous* rather than *traiterous blood* of
the *Duke of Norfolke*, spilt on the
scaffold for her sake, more conso-
lant to *Justice* or the *affections* of
her Subjects, though quietly indu-
ced, as a number of other particu-
lars which happened in her time,
that were not able to make answer
or

or give a perfect account, some to *Justice*, others to *Discretion*. This proves that the *common people* are like *rivers* which do seldome grow so *impetuous* as to transcend the bank of *Obedience*, but upon the overflow-
ing of an epidemicall and illegall *Op-
pression*.

5. Not to wade any farther in this, the greatest *blur* I find objected to *her honour*, or *prudence* of those assisted at the helme, whose miscarriage lay more in the *Ceremony* than *substance* of the thing, no lesse gratefull to the present *affayers* of the Protestants in *Scotland*, then *England*: it being the policy of those times, as I believe it ought to be of these, to render *Alliance* no lesse acceptable to *friends*, then terrible to *enimies* through a seasonable supply of *money* and *mony* before delay (the best *trayer* of all confederations) had
rendered

rendered affayres desperate: not omitted by *her*, who by *sea* and *land* made it her constant practice to annoy the *Spaniard* through the conduct of those *Sonnes of Neptune*, *Drake*, *Furbusher*, *Cavendish*, *Sir Walter Rawly &c.* and in that successfull first expedition to *Cales* under the Command of *Essex* (a man of a *contexture* not only suitable to a *Camp* but gratefull to *Ladies*) by which the *Catholick King* was so unexpectedly alarum'd, as *Cardinall D'Ossat* ownes it for the almost universall Opinion, that the whole *Nation* or a great part of it might have been gained, had he prosecuted his immediate fortune to the extent of their feares; a number of the *Morisco* race desisting in that Juncture to change their master, for one more *Christian*, though lesse *Catholick*, and under whom no *Inquisition* was exercised.

exercised. This made *his coming back* so soone thought as miraculous as *his successe* by those that were stranger to his *Commission*, which he *exceeded* upon the temptation of a present *terror* his landing caused in the Inhabitants, who in a confidence of their *Castles* had removed none of their *goods*, which rendered *the boot* so farre *considerable*, as few returned empty handed, and many by their future living made demonstration of so great an abundance, that he gained *so much love* on all sides as his enemies durst not impute to him for fault, any direction he had transgressed, in being too prodigall in exposing himselfe and the Army to danger; though his abusing that Article of *making Knights* so apparently, had produced this Libell,

*A Gentleman of Wales,
With a Knight at Gales,
And a Lord of the North country,
A yeoman of Kent
Upon a rack't Rent
Will buy them out all three.*

This happy successe did not only e-
state him in the affections of the Mi-
litia and those addicted to the ser-
vice of Mars, but put a no lesse high
esteeme on his counsells and indea-
vours, then it abated the price of
his opposers, the most of whom be-
longed to the langrabe (not sel-
dome at odds in warre, but ever at
enmity with souldiers during peace)
who grew jealous that this sparke,
worne already in the same place
of the *Queenes* affection, from
whence *Leicester*, that terrestriall Lu-
cifer was cast, for abusing his So-
veraignes favour to pride and Mur-
G ther,

ther, might through the *Queenes mediation*, or his owne arts one day gaine the *Crowne*, to the prejudice of their interest, who had already vowed the uttermost of their indeavours to the *Scottish title*; of whom he had this advantage, that whereas *Leicester* was hated by the people for the death of many, and amongst the rest of the *Earle of Essex* his Father in *Ireland*, this abounded in their Love, no lesse then in the favour of his Prince, in whose heart his person had made as deep an impression, as his valour and affable nature had wonne upon her Subjects.

6. That she fomented Divisions abroad I hinted before, And now I must tell you she was not wanting in her indeavours to maintain Factions at home, by which she attained to the knowledge of all things that happened: so as no suite or

or designe passed the royall assent,
 before she understood as much of
 reason as enemies or friends could
 bring for and against it; hearing the
 judgments of all, to her very Ladies
 and ordinary Servants: nor did this
 freedome of communication betray
 her future resolutions to discove-
 ry; for though a seeming uncon-
 stancy, or, as others will have it, one
 more naturall, she did so often va-
 ry, as it was not easie to discover
 where or when she would conlude
 her buzzing, and give the blow: by
 which unsteady carriage she so be-
 fooled the Spyes and Pensioners of
 forrain Princes, as they were at a
 losse what to informe their Patrons
 of, or themselves how to resolve:
 The cause of the Spanish Armado
 in eighty eight; an attempt held ri-
 diculous by the Flemings, and all
 acquainted with our seas, and onely
 brought about through the over-

confidence *his Holinesse* had in the *Catholick party*, which he assured himselfe would appeare upon the approach of a *Navy* stiled by him *invincible*. Here may be noted that *counsels* grounded upon *forrain advantage*, or any thing but a visible experience, do rarely succeed; for *Interest* in such as desire a *change* doth not seldom make them apprehend more *advantages* then really there are, and cover *doubts* and *dangers* they are privy to, out of a feare to dishearten the Prince they indeavour to imbarke in their defence, as it fell out here, where not one man appeared in favour of the *Spaniards*, the very *Papist's* themselves being no lesse unwilling then the rest to see their native country in subjection to the ordinary cruelty found in *Strangers*.

7. But to be sure the formerly mentioned art of *dissembling* with others

Others had stamped such a deepe impression upon the *Queens* own Nature and passions, as she fixed upon nothing with precipitation: The distrust she had of all sides obliging her to the Justice of equall hearings, which few in Sovereignty will be at the trouble to afford: And from hence grew the infinite indulgence that appeared so long in favour of *Essex*; who becoming wanton from his late Successesse, though after moderated by some leſs happy, he grew into such heats and insolencies towards any man his Jealousy had marked for enervations, that the *Queene*, to keep even the scales between him and those of the *Cecilian* party, not only forbore to pamper him with new favours, but did not seldom frown upon him; though he had yet so true a friend of her affections, that upon the least semblance of

submission and promise of returne
to a better temper, it did mediate
for him: *Love, like a bone becoming*
more strong by breaches; he being
certaine upon every *reconciliation*
to receive from her double the va-
lue of that *her anger* had cost him.
Till these frequent repetitions of
his faults, and *her forgivenesse* had
swelled him into such a *Confidence*
of his own mediation that he look-
ed upon all as *enemies*, that in their
words or actiōs acknowledged not
his *friendship*. or, which was very
ordinary in respect of his profuse
Liberality, did not weare some
badge of his favour. And amongst
a number of these *S^r Francis Bacon*
was one, who in an *Apology* be-
printed to vindicate his fame from
the imputation of *ingratitude* to
Essex, confesseth him *farre richer*
in obligations then payments; the
state of all that set too high a value
upon

upon friends purchased by any other coyne; then what beares the impresse of an Interest depending upon a future hope; It being the policy of Courtiers, if not the nature of Love, to conclude where it begins, which is for the most part in Expectation. Now because the generality of such as desire his ruine might thinke that the favour his Mistress shewed him proceeded from a nearer familiarity then I have been informed it did, by such as reported her apter both in her selfe and to others to kinde the flames of Love; then quench them, They placed Blunt, a gallant Gentleman, and of an honourable extraction, in the ball of her eye, hoping by his application to draw from her heart the affection they thought mortall to them and their designs: but the whole result concluding in a *Duell*, did rather inflame then abate the

former account she made of him. The opinion of a *Champion* being more splendid (in the weak and Romantick sense of women, that admit of nothing fit to be made the object of a quarrell but themselves) and farre above that of a *Captaine* or *Generall*: So as *Sr Edmund Cery*, brother to the Lord *Hunsden*, then *Chamberlin* and near Kinsman to the *Queene* (from whose mouth I have most of this) told me, that though she chid them both, nothing pleased her better then a conceit she had, that her beauty (of which her flatterers had bred in her a higher esteeme then an impartiall eare or eye can think due from others report, or her owne pictures) was the subject of this quarrell; when God knowes it grew from the stock of honour of which then they were very tender, and some meane expressions

Essex

Essex used of Blunt, about his being imployed in Ireland, and not her amorous caresses, which age & in a manner an universall distribution of them had by this time rendered tedious if not loathsome; intimated in a modest expression uttered in my hearing by Sr. Walter Rawley none of her least respected Servants, who upon some discourse of the Duke of Buckingham, said to this purpose, That Minions were not so happy as vulgar judgments thought them, being frequently commanded to uncomely & sometimes unnaturall imployments.

8. But his enemies finding all complaints made to his disadvantage, though true, neglected, or hung upon the file amongst such as she resolved at her better leasure to inquire into the proofes of, And remaining as obstinate in a resolution to destroy him, as she did yet ap-

peare in his preservation; did endeavour, as a last refuge, to actuate his *distruction* by accumulating upon him such *high favours & honours* as they observed most suitable to his honour, and fortunes of the *Sword-men*, through whose counsels they found him the most easie to be led, & amongst whom many were placed neere his person by themselves; And from these they received upon all emergencies *advice of his carriage*: It faring with him, as it doth ordinarily betide *honest and generous Natures*, that perish oftener through confidence, then distrust. Nor could any other meanes have removed this Court *Leviathan* (too deeply strook with the *harping-Irons of malice*) from the ocean of favour he lay in, but so ample a Commission as might give his *Ambition* full power and room to expiate in, by which he was
most

most likely to be sug'd a ground;
Not wise enough to apprehend Ma-
ny things he found inserted in his
Patent, as liberty to Pardon or par-
nish the Irish Rebels futable to his
owne will, and power to reward with
lands or honours all he esteemed wort-
thy; were such flowers of the Crown,
as his enemies (to the disadvantage
of whose friends he might) imploy
them) could not in reason but have
found cause to oppose; had they
been pickt out for any milder de-
signe, then to deck a Garland for
that head they meant to sacrifice to
their malice and revenge. But this
being acted (though long before
studied) amongst the last Scenes
of her Tragedy, I shall deferre the
conclusion till some other time; In-
deavouring here (according to my
weak fancy, prompted only by Re-
port) to draw a prospect of her
Court: where, all her raigne, Maje-

sty

fly and Thrift did strive for preemi-
 nence without inroaching upon any
 confine either of *Basenisse* or *Pro-*
digality. Nor can this be wonder-
 ed at by such as know the power she
 derived from *Law* or *Custom* to be
 furnished with all *Provisions* at a se-
 price, By which a heavy *Impositi-*
on was cut off, found by experience
 to load *Greenesse*, seldome admitted
 to a cheap *Market*: Sellers recom-
 pensing their want of honour, by
 the *Excise* they put on such as own
 it. And because this was *Arbitra-*
ry at the will of the *Green cloth* (a
Court only intending *Provision* and
Carriages) The *Purveyors*, upon
 whom lay the *execution*, and so by
 consequence the *en-vy*, were, if guilty,
 at the mercy of every *accuser*, being
 not seldome hang'd or put in the
Pillory upon the discovery some-
 times of *small abuses*: Her Govern-
 ment appearing so full of *policy*, as
 she

she was rarely found to interpose the power of the Crowne in her owne cause: Who by turning her face towards the sunne, and countenancing the punishment of such Harpies, did besides stop the future current of their Corruption; Through which she became not only better serv'd, but gained an opinion of Justice, & Mercy towards her people: it being the male-administration, more then badnesse of any Office, I ever knew, during her raigne or her Successors, legally erected, that raised murmuring in the people, the ill boding voice of Sedition; which it heard, is not to be neglected, but, like the Sea, stopped by the bankes of Justice; for it once it growes epidemicall, all indeavours do rather inflame then moderate it, as thought to proceed more from necessity then love.

9. And here I think it not impertinent to insert a Story as it was

re;

related by an eye witnesse. A Purveyor having abused the Countie of Kent, upon her remove to Green-wich (whither she often resorted, being as I have heard the first ayre she breathed, and therefore most likely to agree with her) a Country man watching the time she went to walk, which was commonly early, and being wise enough to take his time when she stood unbent and quiet from the ordinary occasions she was taken up with, placing himselfe within the reach of her eare, did after the fashion of his coat, cry aloud, *which is the Queen?* whereupon, as her manner was, she turned about towards him, and he continuing still his question, she herselfe answered, *I am your Queene,* *what wouldst thou have with me?* you, replied the Fellow, *are one of the rarest Women I ever saw, and can eat no more then my daughter Madge,* *who*

who is thought the properest Lasse in
our Parish, though short of you; but
that Queene Elizabeth I looke for,
devoures so many of my Hennes,
Ducks, and Capons, as I am not
able to live. The Queene, no lesse
auspicious to all sutes made through
the mediation of her comly shape, of
which she held a high esteeme after
her Looking Glasses (long laid by
before her death) might have con-
futed her in any good opinion of her
Face, then malignant to all Oppres-
sion above her owne, inquired who
was Purveyer, and as the story went
suffered him to be hang'd, after a spe-
ciall order for his triall, according to
a Statute formerly made to prevent
abuses in this kind.

10. This Princeesse, in imita-
tion of her Father Henry the eighth
did admit none about her for Pens-
ioners, Privy-Chamber-men, Squiers
of the body, Carvers, Cup-bearers,
Sewers

Sewers &c. (that were not a few in number) but persons of stature strength and birth, refusing to on her consent (demanded before any could be admitted to the meanest place in her house, because he wanted a tooth; yet was never knowne to desert any for age, or other infirmity after once inrolled, but either continued them, or, upon their discharge, gave them considerable and well-paid pensions. As for her Guard, Ushers, Porters, and all attending below Stayers, they were of a no lesse extraordinary size, then activity for Shooting, throwing the Barre; Weight, Wrestling &c. So that such as came hither from beyond the seas upon Embassy or curiosity (who calculate the strength, wisdom and honour of a Nation by the

the apparitions they behold at Court) had no other cause but to report at their returne, That though a *Feminine Planet* governed the Fate of England, yet there remained little hope to any *forraigne Malignity* of operating with successe; because her *designes* were begotten under *Mercury*, and brought forth by the assistance of *Mars* in case of opposition: She owning *Souldiers* no lesse able to act, then *Counsellours* to advise; In whose choyce (for the most part) *wisdom* was solely looked upon, not putting by *Sufficiency* though accompanied with a *meane Birth*, and *Crooked person*, as it chanced in a *Father* and *Sonne* of the *Ceccills*, both incomparable for *Prudence*. It being sometimes necessary to make *Wise men Noble*, where

where Noblemen are too lazyest
and addicted to pleasure to indea
your to be Wise.

II. It is the highest step of ad
vantage a Prince can meet with, To
have for Counsell about him, per
sons whose fortunes are of the same
price with his owne: The confide
ration of which may abate the won
der *Queene Elizabeth* prospered so
well at the beginning, when incum
bered both within and without by
such difficulties, or how she came
to out-reach (before scarce able to
stand upon her owne leggs) to ex
act a Master in King-craft, as the
Spaniard. I confesse her being a
woman did render the delay of Mar
riage more sutable to his patience
and her honour, then otherwise it
could have been; But the dexterous
management of this advantage must
be attributed to the great wit of
her Juncto, amongst whom her grea
test

est Confidents were of the Au-
 gustan Confession and therefore un-
 likely to continue in favour, if in-
 being, after such a Conjunction as
 Philhip the second desired. Nor could
 distance of place, the deluder of eyes,
 hinder the inspection of that Prince,
 who having commanded in England
 some yeares under the right of Ma-
 ry, could not but in probability
 heare all that was to be known. And
 if we may guesse at the Queenes car-
 riage in this, by her proceedings in
 the two Treaties of Marriage after
 with France, we may presume she
 did purchase this delay, (if not buy
 off the discovery of some Infirmity)
 with the Articles of her Opinion
 contrary to those of Rome; and to
 which, as appeares by an old letter,
 the Cathalick King was not, at that
 time, averse. Though upon her delu-
 ding him, to avoid such a Schisme in
 the lower Germany, as had happened
 in

in the upper, he did indeavour
 to introduce *the inquisition*: For
 tune having rendered him so in-
 dulent from the beginning to the
Queenes preservation, that he sold
 the *Low Countreyes*, the only place
 able to purchase her peace, a bar-
 gaine (as I have heard from the
Earle of Lecester the last English
 man Governour of *Flushing*) fo-
 mented by those that treated
this Match for her Majesty: which
 found, *Pope Pius* darted out the for-
 mer-mentioned *Excommunication*,
 till then restrained through the me-
 diation of *Philip*. I shall not de-
 termine whether it was *Godly zeale*
 or *worldly interest* that prompted
 their judgments to these *accurate*
*counsell*s, since I finde both in some
 part gratified by future successe:
 Though I see cause enough in the
latter to 'imploy all the braines,
 both

both of the *Protestants* and *Papists* in power about her; the one owning their lives to her well being; and the other, *Abby-Lands* to the continuance of it: for though *Sir Fohn Parsons* told me he had seene a *Bull* amongst *Mr. Seldens Antiquities*, by which the *Pope* confirmed the lands of the Church in the hands of their present possessours, provided they in other respects continued under his Obedience, yet whether This might be safely trusted to, I leave in suspence, and to their consideration that may remember they were, fifty yeares agoe, valued much below other Titles and Demeanes.

12. The cause, It may be thought Interest as much as Love in her Privy Counsell, that, till *Lecesters* daies, none are found to have received *Pensions* from *forraine Princes*

Princes, or to play booty or deal treacherously in his Imployments either at home or abroad: nor went to honourable and gainfull Offices, during her abode at the helme, giving to men of no larger capacities than were meerly requisite to the execution of the place; But bestowed upon such publique Spirits as were able to advise in the most crabbed affaires, by which the charge of their support was borne, and the Commonwealth served with men under a double Capacity. Now though we must yeild to Solomon, that safety is to be found in a multitude of Counsellors, Yet Secrecy is commonly absent in all Assemblies but where a few resolve: for which and perfect Intelligence from abroad (the light and director of the bark of Providence) if any age before, I am sure none since can be compared with the daies of Barly and Walsingham in this

his particular; whose steps Arch-
 Bishop Bancroft followed so close,
 was by fomenting a difference between
 the Jesuites and Regulars, he made
 a breach in their Unity, the stron-
 gest argument they have to support
 the Papacy; And, illuminated by so
 clear a judgment, did through their
 slashing make so perfect an inspe-
 ction into the secular practices of
 the Consistory in Rome, as he pre-
 vented many dangers might have
 otherwise fallen upon the Nati-
 on: for which Blackwell, the then
 Archbishop of Canterbury, lay under some
 suspicion from the contrary Facti-
 on, how justly I know not. Yet
 you have heard, that No Priest was
 executed any time in England, but the
 Bishop had a perfect Character of
 a temper and relations; The ea-
 siness brought about by him that (in
 the estimation of the Puritans) own-
 ed most of their Tenents, being be-
 side

side no rigid persecuter of any who
 had not in his composition the gall
 of Treason mixed with Religion
 the Regulars being then in a high
 esteeme, because their opposers the
 Jesuites were about that time banish
 ed France, and their Cells demolish
 ed, with a Pyramid erected to
 their infamy, for an indeavour to
 Assassinate Henry the fourth. And
 from this Indulgence of the Arch
 Bishop grew more security then dan
 ger; because such Priests as were
 connived at (the most of other O
 ders) looked upon the Jesuites for
 enemies, and all new comers
 their owne under a no milder aspect
 then intruders on their profit, And
 therefore the more inquisitive after
 their conditions, and it found practi
 cally, it was no hard matter to
 purchase their remove by the me
 diation of one so neere the helme
 as the Bishop was; who, besides that,
 qu

quality of *Secrecy*, remained so constant to his promise, as it was more safety then danger for them to rely upon his words. And that some cunning Seminaries did indeavour the monopolizing amongst themselves all the profit to be made by the *English Catholickes*, I have no presumption of mine owne from a Priest I met with on the other side of the water, who told me he lived *farre better during the Tyranny* (as he was pleased to call it) of *Queene Elizabeth*, then since the licence afforded under King James; by which divers young Schollers of both the Universities were daily tempted into Orders, and many (restrained before out of love to their safety) did now goe over in shoales, to the great detriment of the old *stannards*. Yet notwithstanding the incomparable-diligence of this *Press*, under two Princes, for the pre-
D serva-

servation of peace and unity, He was abominated by the *preciser sort*, the heat of whose zeale appears the more *unnaturall*, because their *mouths were furred with bitter and unsavary invectives*, which followed him after the hand of *Death* had laid him out of the reach of all other favour but what is due to his desert from *Charity* and *Gratitude*. Therefore to be strongly presumed the worst malice could invent, And inserted by me, according to the *mode of an Historian*, whose place (for the sake of *posterity*) I wish were able to *drive*; However I am no waies correspondent for the *praise* or *blame* due to any verses found here, such as these,

Here lyes my Lords Grace at
and at seaven,
And, if I do not lie, His soule is in
Heaven:

*I wish with my heart it may be to his
leeking,
Since all the world knowes it was
never his Seeking.*

Another,

*Bancroft was for Plaies,
Leane Lent, and Holy-daies,
But now under goes their Doome:
Had English Ladies store,
Yet kept open a Back dore
To let in the Strumpet of Rome.*

I confesse I have heard him Chara-
ctered for a Foviall Docter, but very
Jealous of the Clergies revenue, no
lesse then his countries safety, which
he indeavoured to bring about
through a reduction of Britanny in-
to one forme of worship, by the
traine of Calvine most rigidly op-
posed: But the two contrary Facti-

ons at Court (one of them thinking all things fit to be destroyed, the other laboured to preserve) did upon the vacancy of every Bishoprick, put one in sutable to their humors that had the luck to prevaile: The cause the present Incumbent did, like the web of Penelope, unravell what his Predecessors had with more policy and charity twisted: By which meanes the Diocesses of Canterbury and Yorke were at one and the same time of contrary Judgments, And the best of Clergy men (driven into a medium by the scorching heate of the one side, and chill indifferency of the other) lost their labour and all hope of preferment in a vaine endeavour for a reconciliation; impossible to be brought about, the one party being fomented by hypocrisy to beat out their Ignorance, and the other from power, and a feare of reverting
into

into the primitive Austerity: which
held so long in this unconstant vi-
cissitude, till what was continued
meerly out of policy at Court, did
in a short time branch forth in Ci-
ty and Country into divers popular
differences, sutable to the mold of
every head and the interest of such
persons as had the subtilty to fit
them to their occasions: Zele, like
Lead, being as ready to drop into
bulletts, as to mingle with a Compo-
sition fit for medicine. So as in those
daies it was impossible for men in
Power but to be scandalous to one
side or other.

13. *Dispatches from the Coun-
sell table* (of which I have seene
Volumes) began and held on
throughout in a plaine and the same
Stile, not seldome admitting of se-
verall constructions, if of any inter-
pretation at all where the businesse
related to a thing whose consequence

could not easily be seen into: As ev
appeares at the beginning of all
Treaties, And especially in the two
offers of Marriage with France,
which the *Queen* managed with such
dexterity and secrecy, That wise
Walsingham through whose hand
the whole businesse passed, did not
know certainly (as appeares by his
Letters) whether she was really
or no: But in what was thought
proper for *Transaction*, all things
were plaine drawne in *Latine*: This
put together did much facilitate the
Office of her *Secretaries*.

14. Now as *wisdome* and *se*
crecy appeared in her *Counse*
Chamber, So *Hospitality*, *Charit*
and *Splendor* were dilated over the
whole *Court*; where, upon the least
acquaintance, all strangers, from the
Noble man to the *Pesant*, were in
vited to one *Table* or other (of
which she kept abundance, when
eve

As ever she removed from one standing house to another, unlesse she returned to *White Hall* at night) the least considerable suiting with *three, foure,* or *five hundred pounds per Annum* expence; And for *bread, beere* and *wine* (commonly called by the name of *Budge*) though the *Purveyors* that brought it in, were called to *strict accounts*, such as issued them out were rarely questioned, but in case they sold it: And by this Generosity the ordinary sort of people were so *indeared*, as I have knowne some brag of their entertainment at Court twenty yeares after; such, like *dogges*, seldome biting those have once fed them, Though with the same meate they have been at the paines to catch themselves; It coming all out of the Country mans *Barnes* or *yards*, The wine being little when *Custom* was abated.

D 4

15. Yet

15. Yet though *she* was thus plentifully provided of all things at home, She did not seldome fetch an Entertainment at such *Grandees houses* as were understood to be most popular: By which she removed her Subjects eyes from intending wholly the influence of these *inferiour Starres*, and fixed them upon a greater splendor of her owne: besides her out-doing them in the art of Popularity, acting to the life the Pageant of the people (which all Princes really are, and the wisest the most Caudy) from whence it is farre more indeering to throw flowers then wild fire: And if this her affability did not work upon the will, The greatnesse of their Expence did not faile to render them lesse able to hurt: And in case this was not sufficient to moderate their ambitious thirst after popularity, she found them diversions in forraigne

Im-

Employments, whither they were sent *Embassadours* or *Agents*, by which their *estates* were *gelt*, and the owners rendered the *lesse rampant* and unable to maintaine their former bewitching humour of *Hospitality*; so as in *Parliaments* they became *assessors* of the profit of the *Crowne*, in hope to have such *debts* refunded as had beene contracted by themselves in the service of the State; whose honour she preserved at the lowest expence that ever Prince did, and not seldome at their charge who might other wise have imployed their revenues in fomenting *Sedition*.

16. The *Parliament*, knowing not where to fix upon a *Successor* to the *Crowne* without the hazard of *Religion*, or danger of a *Civill warre*; the *Queene Regent* of *Scotland* having yet *no Child*, and being too strongly supported from *France* to

miscarry under a *title* so firmly built as the *Catholicks* maintained *hers* was to this Nation (if not in present) upon the death of the *Queene*; did, in the first *Petition* they made, invite her *Majesty* to take a *Husband*: In which they minded more their *future*, then present *felicity*, not so likely to result from a *Married* as a *Single Prince*, whose *expense* cannot choose but swell proportionable to the *offspring* produced: And in this they were so moderate as to passe by all mention of a *Successor*, ever ungratefull to her *eares* during the whole *Series* of her *raigne*, and not seldome *fatall* to such as were so hardy as to move it: So as it cost some dearer, and *Pigot* and *Wentworth* their *Liberty*, though they proposed it in *Parliament*; The *safety* she her selfe found in the *concealing* of her *intent*, out-voting, the danger of a *Civill warre* which

which in all humane reason could not but impend the nation, in case of *her death*: For whilest *she* observed *this impartiall neutrality*, none could pretend cause of *complaint*. And in case *any one* had made ostentation of a *Title* before the people, she had *the rest* ready to asperse it; there remaining *none free from Objections*, the *most legitimate* in appearance passing for an *Alien* and so *uncapable*, or an *Enemy* and so *incompetent to govern*: It being as impossible to please, as dangerous to oppose the weakest interest of the *Papist*, *Puritan* or *Protestant*. But to this request of her *great Counsell* (which she could not hinder, being the desire of the *Court*, as well as the Sense of the *Parliament*) she returned a *stout*, though but an *uncertaine Answer*, as is legible in the common *Chronicles*, whose *recitalls* I professe wilfully to

shunne,

Shunne, feeding my pen rather with
 such scraps as I have picked out of
 Letters and Discourse, the store house
 of Tradition. Not so likely to flat-
 ter, if to lye, as the writings of
 those meane Contemporaries that
 for the most part have imbarked
 their pens in our *English affaires*;
 who had still some feare or hope at
 their elbowes ready to jog them
 towards the interest of the present
 or future Governours: Confessed
 by learned *Cambden* himselfe, whose
 lines were directed by *King James*,
 and he lead rather to vindicate the
 honour and integrity of his Mother,
 then to do right for a *Mistress*, that
 had from a *School-master* raised him
 to a capacity of being the first *King*
 at Armes.

17. Her Sex did beare out ma-
 ny impertinencies in her words and
 actions, as her making *Latine spee-*
ches in the Universities, and profes-
 sing

sing her selfe in publique a *Muse*,
 then thought something too Thea-
 tricall for a virgiue Prince; but es-
 pecially in her *Treaties* relating to
Marriage: Towards which some
 thought her *uncapable by nature*,
 others *too propense*, as may be
 found in the black relation of the
Jesuites, and some *French* and *Spa-*
nish Pasquilers That pretend to be
 more learned in the *Art of Inspecti-*
on, then wise *Henry the fourth* their
 King, who in a joviall humour told
 a *Scotish Marques*, *There were three*
things inscrutable to intelligence:
 1. *Whether Maurice then Prince of*
Orange (who never fought battaile,
 as he said) *was valiant in his per-*
son. 2. *What Religion himselfe*
was of. 3. *Whether Queene Eliza-*
beth was a maid or no: which may
 render all reports dubious that come
 from meaner Men: yet it may be
 true that the *Ladies of her bed-cham-*
ber

ber denied to her body the ceremony of searching and embalming, due to dead Monarches. But that she had a Son bred in the State of Venice, and a Daughter I know not where nor when, with other strange tales that went on her, I neglect to insert, as fitter for a Romance, then to mingle with so much truth and integrity as I professe: In which if I am in any thing mistaken, let it be laid on mine own want of knowledge, or their Ignorance that misled me. This I may safely attest, that the smallest chip of that incomparable Instrument of honour, Peace and Safety to this now unhappy Nation, would have been then valued by the people of England above the loftiest branch in the Calydonian Grove. Who as she was the choycest Artist in King-craft that ever handled the Scepter in this Northern Climate, So she went beyond

yond all her Ancestors in adapting
to her Service *the most proper*
tooles, in whose fittest applicati-
ons she was *seldome mistaken*; The
only cause can be given why she so
rarely changed her Secret Counsell,
Especially those she made privy to
any of her *last results*; which did not
weakly contribute to her *safety*:
Such resembling *Keyes*, that once
lost or misplaced, no future securi-
ty remaines but in *changing the lock*.
And though this hath already fal-
len under my consideration, yet I
am forced to resume it againe in the
vindication of the *choyce* of some
Officers about the middle of her
Raigne, accused since for *Weak-*
nesse; which if not a Mistake made
by envy, or for want of an exact un-
derstanding of *the parties use*; some
being placed, after the *Counsell*
grew numerous, only to *tell tales*,
and *ballance votes* she disliked in
pub-

publique, without the least understanding of what was thought necessary to succeed *in private*, a multitude of hands adding dignity to *inland affaires*, it being ordinary with the generality to esteeme *wisdom* according to *measure*, rather then *weight*. And amongst these, few can be found out of her Kindred or such Friends as her Fathers Honour or her owne Gratitude for kindnesse shewed during the life of her Sister, kept her from excluding them the lists, though the stronger heads of others were wholly imployed when her occasions called her to grapple with any *difficulties*. Nor was there more then the *humour* and *profit* of Lord high Admirall intrusted with the Earle of Nottingham, but executed by a Commission selected out of the ablest seaman that age did afford; he being imployd for his *fidelity*, knowne to be *impregnable* in *relation*

relation to *Corruption*: Neither was there a goodlier man for *person* in *Europe*, as my eyes did witness though they met not with him before he was turned towards the point of 80, no youth being more celebrated for *gallantry* and *good fortune* then his. I confesse that in his age he married a young Lady allied to *King James*, which set his *wisdom* many degrees back in the repute of the world.

But to discharge this cavil from any farther dispute, No Prince then extant took an *exacter estimate* of her *Subjects Abilities* to serve her, or made a *deeper inspection* into their *Aptitude*, *Nature* and *Humours*; to which with a rare dexterity she fitted her *favours* and their *employments*: as may be instanced in *Francis Vere*, a man nobly descended; *Walter Rawly* exactly qualified, with many others set a part in her

her Judgment for *military services*, whose *Titles* she never raised above *Knighthood*; Saying, when importuned to make *Generall Vere* a *Baron*, that in his proper *Sphere* and in her estimation he was above it already, Therefore all could be expected from such an addition would be the intombing of the spirit of a brave *Souldier* in the corps of a lesse fightly *Courtier*, And by tempting him from his charge, hazard that repute upon a *Carpet*, his valour had dearly purchased him in the *Field*. Nor could she indure to see her Subjects wear the titles of a *forraigne Prince* in the cause she committed *Sir Matthew Arrondell* of *Warder* in the *West*, for accepting from the *German Caesar* the Dignity of a *Count*. And denied *Sir Philip Sidney* the *Crowne of Poland*.

18. The example of modesty her *Souldiers*

Souldiers exprest in the Nether-lands
rarely found amongst *Auxiliaries*,
with her refusall to own or impose
the name of *her Vassals* upon the
Dutch, gained *her* a huge confidence
amongst *her Neighbours*, that her
complexion was pure from the con-
tagion of any more destructive *Am-
bition*, than the preservation of her
honour and those Nations her birth
no lesse than desert had presented
her with: which made them unap-
ter to offend her; none but *Ca-
tholicks*, and they for the most part
Priests, wishing *her remoove*, as
not knowing where to find a Prince
lesse offensive and more debonaire;
the cause many *Treasons* concluded
in the losse of *their heads* that pro-
jected them, or sought to put them
in execution. Yet in this her tem-
perament of desire in relation to
augmentation of Empire, her pru-
dence so minded her of *the nations*
future

future safety, as That friends under persecution doe not seldome face about upon the approach of Security and power: wherefore she made sure of *Flushing* and *Brill*; which in regard of situation were so full of Content of their whole strength. As the application of it could not, upon their miscarriage in relation to the *Catholick King*, or their own future *Ingratitude*, obliterate the advantage *England* might make of that revolt: Though the moment cover'd it in Reason and Justice from much of the envy it might have contracted, had she imployed force or fraud in their purchase. Nor did the receiving from the hands of the *French Hugonots*, *Haver de Grace* (upon a like exigency) signify more *Ambition* than the reduction of *Calis*; which might have undoubtedly succeeded, had she not according to her usuall customs, starved

starved the designe for want of money and men; a fault the more excusable, because it relates to the tender care and respect had of her Subjects Lives and Estates. And here by the way it is worth noting, That the *Holanders* could not so easily have attained *Freedom*, but through the help of the *Ministers of Spaine*, who by eradicating the ancient Nobility and Gentry reduced them into a *Parity*, and so by consequence made them capable of unity, the nource of all Combinations.

19. Amongst all her Minions none (according to report) bad fairer for the *Queenes Bride-bed* than *Lecester*, who, finding by the continuall high beating of her heart, that she would never allow of so great an abatement of *Soveraignty* as a Match with a *forraine Prince*, could not but in honour have

have made, would in her gayetie
 (which till the death of Essex
 were very frequent) aske her
 If she did not think she had some
 Subjects of her own, able (though
 it must be confessed none worthy
 to make an Heire for the Kingdom
 of England ? Since her Father was
 known to doe it, yet a Man, and
 so incapable of any eclipse of hon-
 our by the highest Princeesse
 Neither did his often repeated com-
 descensions in making Subject
 his after-wives breed him the
 danger that he sustained by this
 first glorious Match (according
 to expectation) that he made with
 the Sister of Charles the Emper-
 our, which all the Prudence be-
 owned could not unravel without
 straining the cordes of Govern-
 ment, if not Conscience, to
 that desperate leape he made out
 of the Church of Rome, and sep-
 aration

...ating himselfe from the union of
...other Princes. Nor did Philip the
...second prove more happy to your
...Sister for the present, nor to the
...future expectation of the Nation,
...that lacked nothing to intaile ser-
...vitude upon them but an Heire
...of her body; which yet had not
...been wanting, according to report,
...but supplied by a Cushion, but
...that the generosity of the Spani-
...ard, and the perswasion of a bet-
...ter successe from your imbraces
...which his hopes flattered him
...with) did for the present make him
...detest it: The cause it was after
...voiced to be a false conception.
...All which I have heard often, And
...read some where, though the Au-
...thor hath escaped my memory: Nor
...could Lecester render his bed vacant
...to a more thriving end (as he is
...rumor'd to have done) than to make
...roome for the greatest and most for-
...tunate

fortunate Princes the Sun ever looked upon without blushing in relation to *Oppression* or *Blood*: This may be allowed upon the score of probability, That *his Lordship* would hardly have been so rampant and ungovernable without some extraordinary invitation, as to draw a blow in her presence from another *Privy-Councillor*, more zealous possibly than discreet, to whom when the Queene sayd, *He had forfeited his hand*; his reply was, *he hoped she would suspend that judgment, till the Traitor had lost his head, who did better deserve it*: But this accident bordering neere the confines of her Honour did not admit no farther debate; it being no other than she in a lesse sprightly full humor might have given him her selfe, none being more flexible to all kind of Follities than the mindes of Princes when unbent from publique affaires. Now whether these

these *Amorosities* were naturall, or
 meerly poetickall and personated, I
 leave to conjecture, That may ever
 find employment in the actions of
 Kings. This I am sure of, these
 gaudy gleams of favour shone not
 upon any single person, but
 were soone eclipsed upon the appa-
 rition of a fresh Spark. And here
 to conclude any farther discourse of
 Leicester, he was a man of emin-
 ent Person, but branded by his
 enemies (of which he had not a
 few) for a defect in Wisdom or In-
 tegrity during his abroad in the Ne-
 therlands where with no good suc-
 cesse he executed the place of the
 Queenes Generall.

20. This Princess used never to
 precipitate a retaliation in refe-
 rence to farraine Injuries: by which
 her Enemies had leasure given them
 to consider of a reparation, no lesse
 than her selfe of Revenge in case of

E

Contumacy

Contumacy, and *time* to put her strength in the *better array*; Manifest throughout her whole expedition into *Scotland*, where though she had fomented such a party of *the Nobility of that Nation* as were able to *receive and secure a force* of her own, which upon their intercession she sent, yet was it without any *Commission to fight* or take notice of *the Crowne of France* from whom the *Scotch Queene* was immediatly assisted, but only against *the house of Guise* that were merely instrumentall in behalfe of the *Sister Mary*. Contrary to the most ordinary practice of our *advised Monarches*, who to gratify the clamor of a few *imbargued Merchants*, and to vindicate an honor capable of *diminution*, but from a *totall neglect* or visible *incapacity* of being ever able to *right it self* doe, like inconsiderate *Bees*, in

rash and passionate Distemper, by *misemploying their Stings* (all the naturall force they have) render themselves (for the future) *weak and contemptible*, by an unseasonable demonstration of *the worst they can doe*; which, till experimented, is for the most part imagined *greater* than in truth it is.

21. Her *frequent* calling *Parliaments*, and not staying till she was *compelled*, kept them in so *moderate* a temper, as they were *more awfull* to the country, than the Court; where some *grievances* might be *connived at*, but *never approved*, so the easier accompted for when cal'd to *question*: nor doe I find her *concession* granted to any *Statute* for her peoples good, by way of *exchange*, but purely out of *grace*, and for the most part before it was *desired*: Wisely projecting, that when *Necessity is the Chapman, the Mar-*

ket doth naturally runne high. Therefore being chaste from all other intrusion upon the nations liberty, but what respected common safety and the honour of the Crowne; she was able without murmer to commit such of the house of Commons as presumed to medle or enquire who was most fit or had the best right to succeed her. Neither was she lesse tender and jealous of Disputes in Religion, an apple in the eye of Government, which if once suffered to roll and grow wanton, will render the peoples mindes unsteady betwixt the obedience they owe to God and their Prince: fondly imagining the first may be gratified at the prejudice of the latter. Zeale being the Flint, and ambition the Steele out of which the sparkes of Rebellion have in our dayes kindled the most fatall mischiefes; which she kept during her reigne from clashing,

ing,

ing, by denying the *Parliament* all farther debate of *Ecclesiasticall ceremonies*, And shewing them their no lesse *injustice* than *levity* to question what they had so firmly estated in her Person, who was yet resolved to introduce no more than what was lately confirmed by *themselves*, or their *Fathers*; so notorious to all, as the *Doctrine* professed most generally in *England* bore in forraigne nations the name of *Parliament-Faith*. Nor was this her prudent *restraint* looked upon with any great reluctancy by any but *Cartwright* and some such *adle heads*, whose Judgments were trimmed according to the Mode of *Amsterdam*; of whose distempered passions the *Queene* made so much advantage, as to keep the *Church* humble and quiet whilest she gelt their *Sees* by *exchanges*, and other *mortifications* of their power and estates, which

during her life were not suffered to blaze out in their *Ecclesiasticall Offices*, as since they did: which is the only visible cause can be given, why *so much worth* as resided in this *Princess* is so little celebrated. And all this wheeled about with the lesse disturbance of the higher Orbes, because few *opposers of Church discipline* were in her dayes eligible, or so much in favour with the people, being for the most part *oppressors*, or indicted of *hypocrisy*; the most eminent for *Parts*, *Titles*, or *Estates* (as it falls out in relation to *new schismes*) growing weary or full *satisfied* with the *profit* already gained by the great leap *themselves* or *their Ancestors* had made from *Rome*: Nor were the poorer sort better apayd when they compared the *Present hospitality* with that reported of old before the *Religious houses* were demolished, the cause

I have not seldome my selfe heard them with a *returne to the Catholick Church* under the title of *the old Learning*: Not so well pleased with the *saving doctrine* of the *Protestant* profession, as they formerly were under the *more liberall distributions* of the *Monasteries*. Nor was it the guise of these prudent times to *dissolve Parliaments in discontent* (by which a *quarrell* seemed to be *pitched with the whole nation*) But to *adjourne them in Love*. Wherefore having to doe with *the same men*, she was seldome compelled to *alter her course*; it being impossible that a *Prince* who had *her peoples affection in grosse*, should find it wanting in *their Representative*. And it is no lesse remarkable, that in so long a *raigne* she never was forced (as I have heard) to make use of her *Negative power*; But had still such a *party in the house of Lords* as

were able to save her that labour. Neither was she ever terrified by *fear*, to bestow *Office* or *Honour* upon any out of no other reason than to draw them from the contrary party; unlesse *Seminaries*, and of this she grew at last weary, saying once in publicke, she would not ransom her selfe from enemies, at the price of their preferments that loved her. But in case she found any likely to interrupt her occasions, she did seasonably prevent him by a chargeable *Employment* abroad, or putting him upon some service at home she knew least gratefull to the people: contrary to a false *Maxim* since practised with farre worse success, by such Princes who thought it better husbandry to buy off Enemies, than reward Friends: which once observed, it tempted some that were ambitious to lay out the strongest of their endeavours against their

their Prince only in hope to be brought off. And for such as desired a farther recoyle from the Pope than was thought fit to be made, they were not so numerous or well-agreed yet, as to actuate any disturbance, being for the most part poore, and, as all Schismaticks doe at first, glorying more in Suffering, than in any other opposition but what they are able to raise with their pennes or tongues, in which they were no lesse lavish then bold and indiscreet: yet meeting from the most in power only blame and contempt, they sought out new habitations for themselves, and vents for their opinions in Amsterdam, where the Dutch allowed a generall Mart for all Religions (the Papacy excepted) without any nicer limitation than obedience to the Magistrate in things purely Civill: And by this they did not only draw much

of our *coyne* thither, but our *Manufactures of Weaving, Dying, Fulling, Spinning and Dressing of Cloth, Stuffle &c*: Easy to have been prevented, by affording them an *Amsterdam in England*, some small *City of Refuge*, over which her Majesty might have set a discreet *Governour* with a *Garison*, whose charge they would willingly have borne, besides the payment of a large *excise* for their folly. * Nor was there any danger in this, it being impossible to make them unanimous: But the *Hierarchy* had been so bitten already by the *Covetousness of Princes*, and the sharp and discerning *Learning* of the *Layity*, who uninterested in the general *Controversies*, might have moderated to their disadvantage, or set on foot a farther and more rigid *Reformation* (which, though a terror to those in power, is most delightfully

full to the eares of the people) That they perswaded the *Queene*, it was against *Prudence and Piety* to give them harbor; yet in the meane time connived at *Lecturers* and weekly *Preaching*, through which they let in more by the *Posterne*, than they could croud out at the great Gate. Wherefore, this found out, *wisdom*e should rather have left the attempt in the hands of *Time*, the *Moderator* of all things disputable, Than rendered them *incorrigible* through *Opposition*, the *promoter* of *Error*. I am the larger in this, lest posterity should be to seek for the foundation of the most destructive *Revolution* the *Sun* ever held light to, which was begun by thousands who never intended it, and wrought the ruine of that both sides labour'd to preserve, with an excessive advantage to such as could neither expect or deserve it.

22 Amongst

22. Amongst the greatest things laid to her charge, as cast behind the dore of *neglect*, was the conduct of the *affaires of Ireland*; a place lying, all her *Halcion daies*, under so great a *contempt*, (before *England's lesse future felicity* had brought it to *esteeme*) that wise *Walsingham* thought it no Treason to wish it *buried in the Sea*, considering the charge it brought: yet she kept the *Pale* in good order, not suffering the *Spanish party* to grow more potent in the *North*, than was convenient to divert him from nearer and more dangerous attempts. It being unpossible for her, without appearing grievous to her people (a Rock she chiefly studied to avoid) at one time to *maintaine* so dreadfull a *Navy at sea*, and foment the *Dutch and French*, towards whose assistance she was called by

a louder Necessity, then to render
a Nation quite desolate: None be-
ing willing during her life to ex-
change the present Government of
a Naturall Princeesse, for the lesse
happy Tyranny of a Viceroy; of
which the most did study more their
respective grandure, by extending
the warre, then the ease of the In-
habitants and lessening the Queenes
expence: Till the Noble Lord
Mountjoy was imployed, who had
no other designe then the conclu-
sion of the worke; which he had not
yet so easily brought about, but that
the Spaniards found themselves be-
trayed through the covetousnesse
and cowardise of the Natives, that
for small sums would sell not only
such forraigners as came to help
them, but their nearest Relations:
Wherefore unlikely to keep faith
with their Prince, being of so false
and unconstant a Nature, as by a
cont

continually relapsing into Seditious practises, they did with the same breath demand *Pardon*, and yet painted to accomplish something worthy of *Death*. Nor was it possible to reduce them to more *Civility* (the inhabitants being of such an amphibious education) but by curing the Boggs and Fatnesses, or building more Castles and Garrisons then she could spare Money or Men from her other occasions to furnish: But that which raised the greatest difficulty in relation to an absolute subjugation of this Province, was the power the Priests exercised over the Natives Consciences, who not able to resolve themselves, were implicitly led by their perswasions to cast off the English yoke and distresse the Queene, who in the Roman dialect was stiled *Heretick*, and in whose favour no compact could be made, much lesse kept with

without *Mortall Sinne* in the performer, especially upon the offer of any (though but seeming) advantage. Nor was the *defection of Ireland* one of the smallest inconveniences that resulted to this Crowne from the *Protestant Profession*.

23. In this *miserable Nation*, that wanted not only *wisdome* and *virtue* to purchase her owne *Freedom*, but a competency of *patience* quietly to submit to the *English Civility*, the former mentioned *Earle of Essex* buried his fortune: For after *his* more subtile *Enemies*, promoted by *malice* and his owne destructive *Ambition*, had placed him *so farre off*, it proved no hard matter (working upon *her Majesties* age and *parcimonious humour*) to distresse him, for want of *coyne* and other *necessary provisions* for so expensive an expedition: which cast him upon *disadvantagious Treaties*

ties with Tyrone, the capitall Rebell, And might occasion the private discourse he had with him alone on horse-back in the middest of a River: which hinted to the Queen the first cause of that fatall suspicion. He might through the assistance of the Irish and English Army (already wholly at his devotion) attempt some novelty; a dismall whisper the contrary Faction did hourly inspire her withall: And to give it a deeper tincture of probability, Sir Robert Cecill gained leave of the Queene to advertise Essex, first of her being past hope, and after of her Death; stopping in the meane time all ships else, but what came laden with this fatall intelligence: And to secure her person no lesse then his owne, in case Essex took the wiser counsell of his friends to land in Wales with all the power he could raise, the English militia were put in

in a posture of defence: of which no use was made; for the Earles composition having alwaies participated more of truth and loyalty to his Sovereaigne, with zeale to the Protestant Religion, then prudence or Reason of State, He, not only contrary to the will of his friends, but beyond the highest hopes of his Enemies, came over attended with some few Gentlemen; and in this naked condition finding the report false, he cast himselfe habited as a travellor at the feet of his Mistris, whom after he never met (unlesse since in heaven) being presently confin'd; yet to no stricter prison then his Chamber, and under no other guard but the obedience he owed to his Sovereignes Commands; who though daily importuned, could not be brought to signe a warrant for any severer Commitment, till after his passage through the City,
In

In which he did not only exceed the extent of *his owne ordinary rashnesse*, But the highest and most extraordinary plots of *his Enemies*. And thus was the Earle snatched out of the armes of his *Mistris*, and torne from the hearts of the people that were his *Servants*, by the subtilty of *his Enemies*, and in the sight of both brought to an untimely death: It appearing no lesse wonder that *Prince* and *Subject* did meet in their affections, Then that they should both be so quiet spectators of his ruin. But as God shewed in his death the weaknesse of the arme of *flesh*, so not long after he declared as plainly the power of his *Justice* in a strict account he took from those that were the principall agents in it: For after the blow given, The *Queene*, presaging by a multitude of teares shed for him, the great drouth was likely to appeare

in the eyes of her Subjects, when
 the hand that signed the warrant for
 it should be cut off, fell into a deep
Melancholly, whereof she died not
 long after. And for the Fame that
 immediatly followed her (if mul-
 titudes were not foully mistaken)
 she was more beholding to her suc-
 cessors miscarriages in the generall
 opinion, then any popular esteeme
 attending her to the grave: her death
 being reported to proceed from an
 occasion that would have beene
 thought ridiculous in an ordinary
 Lady, much more in a person of
 her magnitude: But such as take
 Princes for other then Men, shew
 they never saw them in true light:
 who, like the Gods of the Hea-
 then, cannot in their actions or
 speeches during Life be discern-
 ed from ordinary Mortalls, but by
 the worship given them; being so
 remote from owning any reall Di-
 vinity,

vinity, As with the Crowne they
 put on greater frailties then they
 do deuest: For during the critical
 minute of the *Queenes strongest* af-
fection (which was upon Essex his
 returne from *Cales*) he had im-
 portuned her for some signall token
 which might assure him, that in his
 absence (to which his owne Geni-
 us, no lesse then the respect be-
 bare to the promotion of her ho-
 nour, and obedience to her com-
 mandes did daily prompt him) his
Enemies (of whom he had many
 about the *Chaire of State*) should
 not through their *Malice* or Sub-
 tilty distresse him, or render him
 lesse or worse-deserving in her e-
 steeme: upon this, in a great deale
 of familiarity, she presented a Ring
 to him; which after she had by
 oathes indued with a power of free-
 ing him from any danger or distresse
 his future miscarriage, her Anger,

*Enemies malice could cast him
into, she gave it him, with a pro-
mise, that at the first sight of it all
his and more if possible should be
granted. After his commitment to
the Tower he sent this Jewell
to her Majesty, by the then
Countesse of Nottingham, whom Sir
Robert Cecell kept from delivering
it: This made the Queene think her
selfe scorned, a Treason against her
Honour, And therefore not unlike-
ly to be voted by the pride of so
great a Lady wore Capitall then
that pretended against her Person,
which power doth rarely suffer to
scape unpunished: besides he had
been tempted through passion to
say, or his enemies to devise, That
he now doted, and owned a mind no
lesse crooked then her body; A high
blasphemy against such a divine
beauty, as Flatterers, the Idolizers
of Princes, had enshrined here in.
And*

And from these *his misfortunes*, led on by the weaknesse *Jealousy* and the *Age* had bred in her, *his Maligners* took advantage, so as *his Honour* was off before discretion, love or pity had leasure to dictate, That *Ring* might be miscarried and the former relation false. But the Lady of *Nottingham* coming to *her death bed*, and finding, by the daily sorrow the *Queene* expressed for the losse of *Essex*, her selfe a principall agent in *his destruction*, could not be at rest till she had discovered all and humbly implored *mercy* from *God* and *forgivenessse* from her earthly *Soveraigne*: who did not only refuse to give it, but having shew'd her as she lay in her bed, sent her accompanied with most fearefull creatures to a higher Tribunall. Not long after the *Queenes* weakness did appeare mortall, hastened by the wishes of many, that could not

le in reason expect pardon for a fault
 and they found she had so severely pu-
 nished in her selfe, as to take com-
 fort in nothing after. But upon all
 occasions of signing Pardons would
 upbraid the movers for them with
 the hasty anticipation of that brave
 Mans end, not to be expiated in re-
 tribution to the Nations losse by any
 future indeavour, much lesse so un-
 reasonable an uncharitablenesse to a
 dying Lady.

24. After Essex was thus laid by,
 the totall management of State af-
 faires fell to Sir Robert Cecill in right
 of wisdom, who free from compe-
 titon became bold enough to in-
 forme the Queene, That too many
 years had beene already lapsed, and
 the peoples quiet hazarded by her de-
 lay, in not fixing upon one certaine
 Successor: Nothing remaining wan-
 dering, but her concession, to free the
 Nation from a Civill warre, in de-
 claring

clar^{ing} the King of Scots her law-
full Heire, who besides an immedi-
ateright, had the greatest power at
hand to quell the hopes of all contra-
ry pretenders, at that time more then
a few; having long been imbolden-
ed either through her Majesties In-
dulgence or Prudence, an Artifice
dangerous for her people and not un-
possibly now destructive to her selfe,
the love of whom was by good Go-
vernment for forty yeares, so deeply
rooted in her Subjects, as it could be
buried in nothing but her grave. Nor
did he alone beat her eares with
these sounds, no lesse terrible to
her age at that day, then they had
been formerly ungratefull to her
youth: But the generallity of all
about her; there remaining, after Es-
sex remove, no Faction at Court
able to rescue any from the present
or future revenge of this man; with
whom the most did comply, for
feare

feare of having their hopes blasted
by this Northern Sunne, that began
to rise proportionable to the declen-
sion of the Queens health. The
truth of which the most incredulous
may find throughout the whole
Arraignement of Cobham, Gray, and
Rawly, professed Antagonists to
Essex, under whose shelter they
might have been protected in rela-
tion to their cause, though by them
impudently managed. This proves
no great hyperboly to affirme
The Queene did not only bury Af-
fection, but her Power in the
Tombe of Essex, who having the
Love of the people would execute
without feare any command,
which they wanting durst not un-
dertake: The cause Cecil thought
more prudence to rely upon the
promise of a Prince his Father had
made Matherlesse, than in the for-
givenesse of a multitude whose odium

F

he

he had by many proceedings con-
 tracted; But especially in being in-
 strumentall in the death of Essex, and
 those hopefull young Gentlemen that
 lost their lives & fortunes with him.
 Amongst whom was Sir Henry Ligonier
 for only wishing well to the three
 Earles in the Tower, and an other
 executed in Smithfield for writing
 the newes of their Apprehension
 his Father that was out of London.
 But not to exceed the designe of
 this piece, which was not to asperse
 any, especially one allied so neere
 to my Grand-Mother, and a Family
 ly now rendered Illustrious by
 Earldomes and a number of glori-
 ous Matches; I shall relate on-
 ly his wise indrevours to make James
 succeed, by whom he was com-
 mitted with many Letters, and large
 promises, than, as I have heard, were
 ever performed; and other proposals
 made, amongst which was a treaty
 peac

peace with Spaine, passionately de-
 sired of the Scottish King, who by
 his gratefull service thought to
 muzzle the mouthe of the Jesuites,
 and to have his offers of connivance
 more secretly and successefully pre-
 sented at Rome: and upon the same
 score, Tyrone's pardon was moved
 to the Queene, and though at first
 refused by her with high disdain,
 after brought about for want
 of strength and Counsell to oppose
 her. Nor was an Inquisition after
 the Will of Henry the 8th omitted,
 which a Cursiter did about that time
 multiply he had inrolled, though
 long not to be found, having be-
 fore been taken off the File by some
 small friends to the Scottish title
 any other but their owne; Har-
 ards, Huntingtons &c. being then
 weite in every man's discourse. But
 avoid all semblance of triumph
 over a Right already under the
 weight

weight of the severest misfortune
I shall conclude with the most happy
condition this unparallel'd Princess
left the Kingdome of England in.

25. It had no considerable Enemy
besides the Catholicke King, And
his power so maimed by the fre-
quent blowes received from her Ma-
ritime Militia; that he sought peace
in a posture farre below the usual
pride and Rhodomontado gallantry
of that Nation; apparent in the
rich Donatives bestowed on all a-
bout King James who were any
way likly to farther or obstruct it.
As for the wild Irish (a terme that
age bestowed on the Rebels) they
were dayly found dead in boggs
and woods with grasse in their
mouthes, giving no farther trouble
to the English Souldiers (at their
death not numerous, many having
quitted the imployment out of grief
for their Generall) than to burye

and spoile the Corne and other provisions of the Natives ; farre easier done, than they overtaken in their Fastnesses and Bogs , impassable to our Army. The French were by obligation wound up at least to a neutrality, if not in Policy bound to assist us in case the warre had gone on with Spaine: Henry the fourth's former Defection, though covered with a late formall Conversion , having yet not so strongly estated him in the affection of Rome as to make him despise the English Alliance or exchange it for any in judgment lesse remote from the Pope: or in case of his death or forgetfullnesse he had the Hugonotes to friend, who in all walled Townes prayed for her in publique, owning her for little lesse than their Princeesse under the title of a *Proteectresse*. Though the Dutch were no lesse hers by Interest than Gratitude, yet least pro-

sperity should in a resty humor
 straine these cords, her hands were
 strengthened by *Cautionary Townes*,
 which did not only *bridle them*,
 but abate much of the *danger* our
Merchants were in from those re-
 maining under the Crowne of
Spaine; Not so much recruited a-
 bout this time by the *reduction* of
Ostend after three years siege,
 weakned by the former *lasse* of
Sluce in a farre lesse considerable
 time. As for *Denmarke*, *Sweden*
 and other Nations that ordinary
 calculation hath feared east of us,
 we held good correspondence with
 them, But lay obnoxious to on o-
 ther *inconueniences* from them,
 Than what we sustained by the
Frost, *Snow* and *teadious weather*
 the vicinity of their *icy coasts* used
 to infest more happier *Climats* with-
 all.

26. Nor can she appeare lesse

Lovely

Lovely, wise and Succesfull at home,
 to any that is able to fix his eyes
 upon so great a Radiancy as did
 compasse the head of this Princessse,
 without the darke vale of preju-
 dice, not hetherto drawn from be-
 fore the face of this nation by the
 visible indeavours of many. Com-
 parisons being apt to raise no lesse
 odium at home then envy abroad.
 For though the series of her Raigne
 she kept *Parliaments*, the Pulse of
 this Nation, in such a temper as no
 signes appear'd either of *Anarchy* or
Tyrannicall Oppression; her Govern-
 ment having been handed to the
 people with that sweetnesse, that
 it was esteemed of no lesse advan-
 tage to them, than their obedience
 brought honour to her: under
 whom the Crowne remained in such
 credit, as the *Exchequer* was eslee-
 med equall security with the *Ex-*
change; The Tellers of that Court
 F 4 being

being as ready to issue out monyes, as those that had *Debenturs* were willing to receive it. And if any contrary practice since brings the truth of this into suspence, let the Proverbe *As sure as Check* bayle me from the least suspicion of hyperboly. Her Lands, of which she had a vast proportion, were loaden with *Timber* fit for all imployments, lying ready upon occasion either to raise a *Navy*, or *Mony* to pay *Souldiers* or *Mariners*. Nor was her *Treasury* quite empty, or the *Crowne* burdened with any considerable debts, but what a *Parliament* would without murmur have refunded; No cause of *Fealonsy* remaining in relation to an incroachment upon their liberties of *estates*; Since she did not extend to the least generall prejudice her owne unquestioned interest in the *perquisites of the Crowne*; So as her *Parkes*, *Forrests* and *Chas-*

ses were rather a relief then a burthen
to the Subject; it being then as
rare to find a man of quality de-
nied Venison, at to heare of one
(if not too intemperate) punish-
ed for stealing it. And as the Ju-
stice in Oyer was moderate in his
Courts that related only to the pre-
servation of the Game, So those in
Westminster-hall were all carefull to
distribute Equity and Right: or, if
in her time some Cushions in Chan-
cery, Chequer, and Court of Wards
were taken with the Mouth of cor-
ruption, it was after her Inspection
fayled her, for want of a contrary
Faction truly to informe, and no
propensity in her Nature to pro-
tect such courses. The ordinary plea
used after, of selling Dear, because
they bought so, being voyd the
most of her dayes; in which no visi-
ble Bribes for Offices were offered
or accepted, but what resulted from

favour or desert. The Church in her
dayes lay ~~not~~ *not* disfigured in the
filth of *profanesse*, nor was it daw-
bed by the varnish of *Hypocrisy*:
Ceremony and Sabbath (the ordina-
ry pretences for *Sedition*) being
decently not rigidly commanded
or observed. So as the wall-eyed
blanchers at them were followed
more out of *reproach* than *approba-*
tion; And might have been so still,
had not the State rendered them
more considerable by *their notice*,
than really they were; fondly ima-
gining the *hatred* found in succee-
ding *Parliaments* to the *Papists* re-
sulted from a *Puritanicall affection*,
when it was for a long time in the
most a feare of *shaking the titles of*
Abbey Lands, or a desire to free the
Laity, in all things temporall and
mulctable, out of the hands of the
Church; who about the *setting of*
this glorious Planet became some-
thing

thing more *red* and *severe*, than sated with a Calling no better supported: For though *zeale in the Clergy* may bias men towards *religious duties*, yet it hath often been found so much to alter the gate of the *Rable*, as they have quite forsaken the end of all *Professions* which is *Obedience to God and their Governours*, And inclined to more *uncouth* and *distructive Opinions*, than an open and *unsuborned temper in Religion* was ever yet found guilty of.

27. Thus I may have in part *expiated* for the *neglect* if not *malice* observable from the most *Relations* concerning *this Lady*; No lesse than *vindicated my owne Gratitude*, (Whose *Grand-Father* and *Father* did both *injoy a quiet, happy and plentiful fortune under her*) though in a *stile* and *method farre below her merit*, As best appeares by the *Bonfiers & loud acclamations* used

used still by the people upon the
day of her Inauguration: The felicity
of which was never since match-
ed, nor have we had yet any cause
to hope it will be, especially du-
ring my Life, which began under
this beloved Princessse.



FINIS.



Traditionall
MEMMOYRES
on
THE RAIGNE
of
King Iames.



Printed for Thomas Robinson. 1658.

THE HISTORY OF

THE REFORMATION

IN THE

CHURCH OF ENGLAND

FROM THE

REIGN OF HENRY VIII.

TO THE

REIGN OF CHARLES I.

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fat
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To the Reader.



Ince Age, though something early, hath now overtaken me, anticipated through a number of infirmities and no fewer discontents, it is not probable I should go long unserved by that fatall Sub-poena we all are liable to through our fathers concupiscence, No lesse then a reciprocall necessity to leave elbow-roome for our own: Wherefore at present compelled by usuall, yet farre lesse gratefull diversions, to put a stop upon the following Discourse (which, though defective and imperfect, may not unpossibly be owned
ed

To the Reader.

ed for mine, by such as are well acquainted with the Stile) I take my selfe obliged out of that tender respect all naturally carry towards a faire Repute, (which will perhaps prove the argument of a time may happen many ages after mine is spent) not to suffer it to come into the world Speechlesse; which I look upon as none of the least misfortunes, however it may be reckoned amongst the most innocent; The Tongue supplying the same place in Man, a Sting is found to do in a Serpent. Nor is it likely anything so generall as this should scape wounding by such darts: which renders all indeavour to frame it a sufficient Pasport not only difficult, but meerly impossible: being quite destituted of the patched coat of Antiquity (it not bearing so much as the facing of any others Custome but my owne) no lesse then the janglings of Novelties relating to Faith; whose

To the Reader.

whose apparitions and sounds are only able to raise up the prick eared attentions of these times, that neither regard the middle-ag'd Philosophers, nor ancient Prophets, farther then they are (like blind horses) able to bring grist to their owne Mills: by whom Tradition is held and persecuted for a vagabond, Though the Bible it selfe, that hath hung so long at their Girdles, as it is become an assistant to the Sword, had for some Centuries no better covering then this Arke; into which the generality do now not only profanely peepe, but proclaime the retention of it an occasion of all the Scabs and Emrods do at this day and have long before infested the Nation: Though deducible out of History and experience, that Unity was more pliant to the bond of Peace, and the Priests more steady in their Chayrs. and not so apt to fall into Schilmes, and break their owne necks, together
with

To the Reader.

with their Governors, before Tradition was taken Captive, and Hypocrisy had blinded the Strength of *Gr* who though they did at first grinde the motly colours of such as imploy'd them, they became in a short time cunning enough to display their own. Now if nothing might be registered of wicked, effeminate and ill-consulted Princes, but things plausible and tending to the fame of the dead, one of the chiefe raines of terrour and restraint would be quite let loose to those alive; the impartiall Grave affording no more protection to their dust, then the righteous Judge doth connivance to their Sinnes. From whence it may be concluded no lesse necessary (by reason of the greater and more generall advantage accruing to the world from such a splend example) to dissect and make inspection into the defects of a dead King, or ruins of a tattered State, then for

4

To the Reader.

A Phyfician to anatomize a body whose life was through evill and extravagant courses forfeited to the Law: by both which honest men may come to be cured, and Common-wealths better governed. I confesse a huge blame is due to such as mannage their pens no lesse impertinently, then clowns do their knives and hatchets, with which in lieu of other imployment, or for pure want of discourse, they deface and whittle the sacred graves and unquestioned fame of great persons, upon no solider an account then to fill Volumes, though they relate to no more use but what the Narrative contains, without pointing either to Imitation or Admonition, the bull-workes of Government; towards the advancement of which nothing can be so precious, as may not in manners and decency be imploy'd, whether relating to the fame or infamy of dead Princes: The comission of which would
not

To the Reader.

not only obstruct all the readers benefit and delight deducible meerly from truth and variety, but remove out of the Sphere of Majesty, hope, feare and shame of what may be censured of them after this life (all the reward and punishment the most think themselves capable of) by which they would be left only to the boundlesse and unsteady procecution of chance, or the guidance of their owne wills, not unlikely to prove as destructive to them and their Issue, as burdensome to their people; It being the duty of an Historian, not only to better the present understanding, but to open a window into the future, by drawing the fairest Landskip, and making the widest and farthest prospect into times past, his skill will give him leave, In which perhaps more art may be shown in discovering the Ditches, Boggs & Bushes, then the more lofty Mountaines and Trees. And now, bu

ving

To the Reader.

ving so farre as is necessary vindicated Tradition, (the free Schoole of Princes) where moderation may be learn'd from those that have fallen under a popular fury, and patience inculcated to all Subjects by the deare effects of Civill Warre, and the example of many that have cast of one Tyranny and fallen into a worse, not seldome their Portion, who hunt after change, I shall farther adde that no Sound requires a more docile eare, nor an exacter attention, then that proceeding from the Trumpet of Fame; the jarrings of which, like other wide instruments, are not so discernable at any distance, as neerer hand: wherefore it creates admiration in me, to find out what the composition of their humours may be, That impute it not only for a blemish to the writers, but an undecent intrusion into the readers Harvest. To insert his own judgment, or the most probable Opinions

To the Reader.

Opinions of the Age wherein the
Scenes of his story were acted! Yet are
heard daily to bewaile the want of a
more perfect knowledge of the cause
why *Sejanus* fell frō so great a height
of felicity into so deep an abyſſe of
miſery, with other like mutilatiōs ob-
ſervable in the Records of History,
not capable of recovery by poſterity
an omiſſion not likely to reſult from
any other neglect, then what the com-
monneſſe of that knowledge did at
the time of their writing breed in the
Historians: whose induſtry can as hard-
ly prove ſo impertinent to future ages
(for whose ſake chiefly it is imploid)
as it may appeare perhaps ingratefull
to the preſent, where every one car-
ries a Chronicle in his Mouth, or at
leaſt ſo much as may raiſe a ſtound of
contradiction ſtrong enough for the
time to immerge the greateſt and ex-
acteſt inquiſition after the moſt uſe-
full and exemplary Truth. Since
though

To the Reader.

though the Diseases in Bodies Politick, are ordinarily recorded as to matter of fact, yet to set downe the manner of their cure, and strengthen it with such a defensive plaster, as may for the future prevent falling into the like, will not be thought unworthy the labour of the Historian, & without which the Polititian shall be little edified; who cannot pretend to a higher title then that of an Emperick, if he hath not been conversant (as the pretenders by their places to Reason of State are most commonly found) with other experiments that may be deduced out of the stories of Antiquity, wherein all Transactions (but what passed between Greece and Rome) Had still one end of the Treaty supported by a people stiled Barbarous. Nor is it to be wondered at That the Ancients should exceed the Moderne in reputation, though short in goodnesse; since the best construction is put upon
on

To the Reader.

*on their ambiguities, and their faults
mended, and imputed not to the Au-
thor but Transcribers: whereas Con-
temporaries receive all rigor, few
vouchsafeing to mend the errors of the
Presse; And if any Interpretation
be worse then other, he is sure to have
it; Wherefore in case I dye before
this be finished, if Posterity finds no
Reason to wish it otherwise, I am sure
the Composer shall not.*



The





The principall *Heads*
of the following Me-
moyres on the Raigne of
KING JAMES.

KING JAMES the occa-
sion of his Son's Ruine.

2. *The English disgust the Multitudes
of Scots following him; How it
might have been prevented.*
3. *How he stood affected at the Newes
of Queen Elizabeth's Death,
and his Proclaiming by the May-
or of London. Who were most
earnest for his Reception, and
who propounded it might be with
Caution.*
4. *A Peace made with Spaine, —of*

G

what

King James.

- what consequence to that Crown—*
5. —*By what Gifts procured, and—The King's Counsel suborn'd.*
 6. *The Lords Cobham, Gray, and Sr W. Rawly indicted of Treason. The miserable death of the first.*
 7. *Sr W. Rawly's History of the World: His Guiana voyage, his Tryall, Condemnation, Execution and Character.*
 8. *Truce made betweene Spain and the Dutch; The inconveniences thereof to that Republicke. K. James Writings and Employment.*
 9. *His Entry and Exit attended with great Plagues.*
 10. *This ill condition the Papists lay in—may seeme to have brought forth that Monster The Powde Plot.*
 11. *Conjectures what it's Effects might have been.*

12. Mi

King James.

12. *Miracles related of Garnet—his Execution; with the rest of the Conspirators.*
13. *The Discovery, reported as occasion'd by the Lord Morley (Cecil's Artifice.) —*
14. *—Came from the French King. The Spanish fluttering Congratulation. K. James's Pusillanimity and ill practices; their effects. Rome's despaire of regaining England.*
15. *The causes of the French King's Assassination.*
16. *The Papists indulg'd, and Puritans (unadvisedly) prosecuted. The Conference at Hampton-Court; It's inconveniencies. By what steps the Puritans got up, and the old Clergy degenerated.*
17. *The English impoverished by Exactions to enrich the Scots. K. James his Hunting. Character.*

King James.

ster. *His demeanour towards Q. Anne; Her Picture.*

18. *An Apologie for an Historian's taking notice of minute and low Circumstantials.*

19. *The Kings Obligations to the E. of Northumberland requited with the Star-Chamber. That Court described.*

20. *The Pauls-walking Newsmongers - report Northumberland (who brought in K. James) too (fatally) intimate with P. Henry. Fortescue's Rewards, first for Opposing the King's Admission (without caution) and after for Entertaining him.*

21. *The Puritans denyed a second Conference.*

22. *A Libel on the Scots - Explained.*

23. *- A Character of Philip E. of Montgomery; How patiently he tooke his Switching by Ramsey at Croydon (which otherwise had*

King James.

had produced a Nationall Quarrell) How the King repaired Philip's lost honour (an animadversion upon Masques); —

24. *His gallant Mother the Countesse of Pembrok's resentment: Her Picture and Epitaph.*

25. *The King's Feares make him banish Ramsey. His debauching the English. Pembrok's Wives descent.*

26. *Sackvill the onely English-man at Croydon that went on the Scots side, and why.*

27. *Maxwell lugg's Hawly; which had like to have engaged the Greys Inne Gentlemen in a Quarrell, — taken up by Bakon; They entertaine the King with a Masque, and He Them with a Banquet: Their Rudenesse.*

28. *Murry kils a Sergeant; and the Lord Zankor, the Fencer Turner: Their Sentence.*

King James.

29. *Treasurer Cecil's Artifice to stop the King's profuseness: His Enmity to the E. of Essex, and enclosure of Hatfield Chase &c. contract him the peoples Hatred; which vented in Libels after his death; The manner of it. His Character. Baronets his Project. Crown-Timber (wastfully) sold.*
30. *The Mischiefs wrought to this Nation by some of the worst of the Scottish Lords, as Roxborow, Fenton, Carlisle, Dunbar, Kelly, Somerset; The rise of the four last.*
31. *The King's designe for the Union eagerly caried on, — proved abortive in the Parliament.—*
32. *— Attempted againe in the Star-Chamber by the Lawyers upon the account of Prerogative, — unsuccessfully.*
33. *Objections made in Parliament against it.*
34. *Knight-*

King James.

34. Knight-hood *made cheap.*—
35. *The occasion of Baronets—to the ruin of many Families.*
36. *Other Honours sold-partially.*
37. *The English doat on P. Henry; — how justly, examined.*
38. *His Virtues draw Love from the People, and That raises (fatal) Jealousy in the King. The unhappy condition of Princes. His Death.*
39. *King James all-attended, and why. Carlisle's Excesse; Ante-Suppers—his invention. The King's Favorites censured.—*
40. *How the E. of Holland lost that Place.*
41. *Gowry's Conspiracy, and the Mock Holy-day for it.*
42. *Treasurer Buckhurst's remarkable Death: His Character.*
43. *The L. Elizabeth's Marriage with the Palsgrave—generall liked: Why the K. consented to*

King James.

*so poor a Match. Her virtues
and Misfortunes.*

44. *Conjectures about the Palsgrave's
affaires.*

45. *Prince Henry's encouraging his
Attempts.*

46. *The Battaille of Prague lost
through his Covetousnesse.*

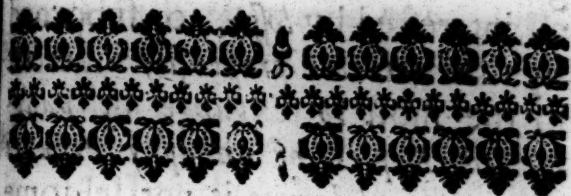
47. *Weston fartherers the Elector
and his Lady's escape to the
Hague.*

48. *Many Papists true to their trust
of Count Mansfield. The
Close of the First Part.*



Some





Some

Traditionall Memorials

on the Raigne of

KING JAMES:

The first Part.



I. **T**HE Misfortunes of
Charles Stuart, Son
to King James,
with the uncouth,
dismall and unex-
pressible calamities that happen-
ed thereupon, appeare yet so

G 5

great

great a *Sacrifice* in the Opinions of all interested by *losse*, or suborned by that *naturall propensity* inherent in the most to *expunge* or *palliate* the *Lapses* of unhappy Princes (whose *indulgence* is not seldome so diffusive as to expiate for the *faults* of those standing in a far remoter relation than that of a *Father*) that they have hitherto stopped my *Pen* from making any farther *progresse* this way; Till, led on by a *zeale to truth*, and illuminated from the brighter Judgements of others, I found not onely the *Imprudent Commissions*, but *voluntary Omissions* of King James so much *instrumentall* in the *promotion* of our *present evils*, as it may justly be said, He, like *Adam*, by bringing the *Crowne* into so great a *Necessity* through a *profuse prodigality*, became the *originall* of his *Son's fall*, who was in a manner *compel'd*

pel'd to stretch out his hands towards such gatherings and Taxes, as are contrary to Law: by which he fell from the *Paradise of a Prince*, to wit, *The hearts of his people*.

2. For though the best Politicians extant might miscarry in their calculation of a Civil warre immediatly to follow upon the death of *Queene Elizabeth*, in vindication of the number of Titles and Opinions then current: Yet the beggerly rable attending his Majesty not only at his first coming out of Scotland, but through his whole Raigne (like a fluent spring) found still crossing the River of *Tweed*, did so farre justify the former conjecture, as it was only thought mistaken in relation to time. The dreadfull Symptoms of that warre presaged still impending England, and the nearer approach manifested in the discontent that appeared in all places

places and amongst every Society, to the very Court it selfe, in whole opinion no lesse than the generality, his too palpable partiality towards his Country-men rendered him no higher place than of a King-in-Law, not a Prince of any Natural affections to the people of this Nation. So as his more wise and innocent Successour was cast upon this unhappy choice, either to hazard the fidelity of his Scotch Subjects, by Obstructing this bounty; or that of the English, at whose cost alone it could be continued. All which might easily have been at first prevented (and perhaps no lesse to the King's advantage than the peoples) had the same caution the Parliament exacted from Philip of Spaine, been taken from James of Scotland; a Nation no lesse distant from the English in Nature and affection.

3. In the prosecution of which, or any thing else relating to *this King*, I shall avoid all unnecessary severity, and observe more *duty* and *respect*, then may possibly be thought due, by posterity, to the Person of a Prince, that (after so exact a patterne as *Queene Elizabeth* left him) did, by *debauching Parliaments* and *breaking his word*, so far irritate, no lesse then impoverish the *Subject*, as *his Son* was forced to give *concession* to one rendered *indissolvable* but by *their owne will*: a mischiefe could never have befallen *England*, had *King James* left them in the same temper he found them at the *death* of the *Queene*. The *newes* of which was brought him first (as I have heard) by *Cary*, after *Lord Lepington*, and since *Earle of Munmouth*: who not able to satisfy such a concourse of *doubts* and *questions*, as farre more resolute

lute natures then his do usually muster up on lesse occasions, *The King stood as in a maze*, being more affected through the *fear of Opposition*, then pleased with the present report, Till by a *lamer Post* he was advertised of his being joyfully *Proclaimed in London by the Lord Mayor and Aldermen*, And of the unquestioned reception his Title in all places met with; No lesse then that the *Hopes of some*, and *Fear*es of the *Major part*, assisted by the prudent carriage of the *Treasurer*, and ranting protestations of the *Earle of Northumberland* (that in all places vopoured *he would bring him in by the sword*) had stopped their Mouthes that desired (in regard of the *knowne feud between the Nations*) he might be obliged to *Articles*: And amongst these noble and publique Spirits was Sir *John Fortescue*, Sir *Walter Rawly*,
the

the Lord Cobham &c. All frowned upon after by the King, who had yet the luck to live so long as to change his Opinion and (when he found he neither durst do it himselfe, nor consent to it in Parliament) to wish his Countrymens numbers had been limited, and not suffered like locusts to devour this Kingdome; from whence they became so rich and insolent, as nothing with any moderation could either be given or denied them; The result of an Omission no bloud could expiate, but that of the greatest victime ever sacrificed since Christ in so ignoble a way.

4. He held his thoughts so intent upon Ease and Pleasure, That to avoyd all interruption likely to impede any part of the felicity he had possessed his Imagination with from the union of these Crowns, And to fit an example for his Neig-

Neighbours imitation, whom he desired to bring into the like resolution; He cast himselfe as it were blind-fold into a *Peace with Spaine*, farre more destructive to England then a *warre*: For it hath not only found that Prince an Opportunity to recover his strength much abated by the *Queenes* most happy successes at Sea) But gave him a fair advantage to establish himselfe in the *Kingdome of Portugall*, and quiet the distempers of his owne people, that were, ever since the expulsion of the *Moores* (to whom a major part of the *Subjects*, together, with their language is undoubtedly allied) much perplexed at the cruelty of the *Inquisition*, and so upon all opportunities ready to call them back from the *Barbary shore*: Which could not have been so happily accomplished, but during so still a *Peace as the new reconciliati-*

on of the French King with the Pope, and pusillanimous temper of James did at that present afford him, And without which it had not been uneasy for a farre weaker neighbour to have tormented him in the bowels of his owne estate, by the least fomentation they could have used.

5. And as this Peace was of infinite consequence to the Spaniard, so he spared for no cost to procure it: And to prevent the inserting any Article that might obstruct his recourse to or from the Indies (the Magazine of strife) either on this side or beyond the Line (Thought by the English Commissioners not included, however the contrary was after pretended, and no farther disputed by King James then with patience and a quiet submission of his Subjects to their sense, not rarely punishing such as transgress, at their coming home) he presented all, both

both *Scotish and English with Gifts*,
And those no small ones, for by
that the *Earle of Northampton*, bro
ther to *Suffolke*, had, he was alone
able to raise and finish the goodly
Pile he built in the Strand, which
yet remaines a *Monument of his &c.*
Nor are there a few others no lesse
brave houses fresh in my memory,
that had their foundation if not
their walls and roofes plastered with
the same Morter; Though out of
my will to name, who had rather
be condemned by posterity that are
not likely to hurt me for this *Mode-*
sty, then expose my selfe to the
mercy of the age I have the fortune
to live in, by making my pen over-
familiar with my thoughts; Since
after times may better spare the
knowledge of many things, then
we reveale them; only this I shall
adde as no improbable conjecture
made by many in those daies, That
his

his *Catholick Majesty* was so frightened by the apprehension of a possibility that *our King*, according to the nature no lesse then the obligation of his *Country*, might fall into conjunction with *France*, That he would scarce at that time have denied him any thing, to the halfe of his *Indies*. And from hence all Princes may calculate the vast difference that lies between a Counsell suborned, and one free from corruption.

6. At his assumption to the Throne the *Lord Gray*, *Lord Cobham* and *Sir Walter Rawly* (professed *Enemies* to the late *Earle of Essex*, and no weak instruments in his destruction) fell into a *Treason* of a like depth with his; and so improbable to hurt others or benefit themselves, That if ever folly was capable of the title, or pitty due to *Innocence*, theirs might claime so large

large a share, As not possible to be too severely condemned, or slightly enough punished. Yet as *shall* as it was, the Lord Gray could never *wade* through it, but died in the Tower; Though Cobham did but to such a liberty as onely afforded him the choice of a place *starve* in, all his land being formerly *confiscate* and *begg'd*; So as my selfe heard William Earle of Pembroke relate with much regret towards him (though in his life his *opposer*, in exasperating the old *Queen* against him in relation to a *Juvenile* lapse, for which he was by her committed to the *Fleete*) That he died in a roome ascended by a ladder, at a poore womans house in the Minories, formerly his *Landeresse*, rather of hunger, then any more *Naturall* disease. Thus miserable was his Fate, in meeting with a Prince so inconsiderately *pro-*
fuse

to *use to Strangers*, that he forgot
the owner, not leaving him where-
to *shall to buy bread*; an impiety not
new amongst Infidells, who ever
deemed it lesse injustice to take away
life, then the meanes to maintaine
order. Which may one day inspire a
Parliament with so much wisdom,
as to abate the rigor of the Law in
relation to the Posterity of Crimi-
nals, who are in this particular dealt
withall contrary to the decree of
God and Nature, who saith the
person offending shall only dye, and
no punishment descend to the inno-
cent Children: found the occasion
of much mischief, especially to
men of honour and estates, by af-
fording a wide and legall pretence
for malice and Tyranny to ex-
patriate in; Manifested in that prodi-
gious Parliament; and might have
been easily redressed, had not their
frequent Purgations left them no o-
ther

ther *humor* but what related to *continuance* and *selfe-interest*; contrary to the nature of that Court, which ought not to be perpetuall; who the Decollation of Monarchy, cut off all hope of bettering the miserable condition of the English Subject.

7: As for Rawly, none ever employed *Inlargment* worse, that knew so well how to advantage himself and his Country in *Imprisonment*. For during his tedious *Lying in the Tower* (under the jealousy, rather than *Justice* of King James, who did so farre participate of the humour of a *pasilanimous Prince*, as to pardon any sooner then those injured by himselfe) He was delivered of that *Minerva*, the History of the old world: which Travell of his Braine proved more succesfull, then that of his Body, to discover a New one, in that unhappy Voyage to *Guiana*, in which his Son with

number

number of other Gentlemen were
lost and undone, And he exposed to
the Spanish Cruelty, who about
that time begun to dazle the wea-
ker eyes of James with the contem-
plation of a Match, between our
Prince and that Kings Sister, to
whom Sr Walter had rendered him-
selfe suspected, no lesse then he had
formerly disoblged the Treasurer
Cecill, by obstructing, to the far-
thest extent of his power, a Peace,
through his mediation propounded
in the very shutting in of Queen Eli-
zabeth's daies: which was not only
the cause of his Arraignment long
before and carried on so fiercely by
Attourney Cook and other dependers
on the Treasurer, at VVinchester,
But of the order upon this occasion
sent, though long after, to Gonda-
mor the Spanish Agent, vigorously
to demand the head of Rawly, for an
assault made by him on his Masters
Indies

Indies : A Head of more weight to our Court (especially in that dearth of wisdom then raging) then the *Infanta* could be, Notwithstanding the most generall no lesse then the least suspected Reports made her alone owner, (though small in stature, of the greatest Beauty, Virtue, Gallantry and Prudence that were at that day extant in woman-kind. But as the foolish Idolaters were wont to Sacrifice the choicest of their Children to the Devill, the common enemy of Humanity ; so our King gave up this incomparable jewel to the will of this Monster in Ambition, under the pretence of a superannuated Transgression ; Contrary to the opinion of the most honest sort of Gown-men. who maintained that his Majesties Pardon lay inclusively in the Commission he gave him upon his setting out to sea. It being incongruous, that he, who remained

remained under the notion of one
head in Law, should as a Generall di-
spose of the lives of others, not
making himselfe Master of his own:
but the Spanish Faction then abso-
lute at Court, and sole mana-
gers of the Kings power, no lesse
when his Justice, did so farre tender
his Catholik Majesties full satis-
faction in the procuring his death (the
only man of note left alive that had
helped to beat them in the yeare
1588.) that no absurdity lying in
the way of his prosecution could
deterre them from making use of
his former Condemnation: Remem-
bering withall how farre his wit
and puzzled them at Winchester;
that though his Judges were wil-
ling enough to destroy him there,
yet they did rather tire him out of
his life, by the bawling of the
severall Counsell on one side, and the
other insisting upon a confession
H extorted

exhorted from the *Lord Cobham* out of fear, (who being in the same *Condemnation* could but make a *circumstance*, no creature else averring it) then *convince him*: some of his *Fury* being after he was Cast, so farre touched in *Conscience*, as to demand of him *Pardon* on their *Knees*; which made it the lesse probable they should be able to impa-
nell one so wicked as would do it then. Besides *no peace beyond the Line* was a beliefe so riveted in the *Opinions* of all, as he could not have been *Indicted a-new*, without the Kings producing of the *Original Articles*, by which his accusers would have been convinced of *malice*, or his *Prince* of folly. He was *Captain of the Guard to Queen Elizabeth*, *Warden of the cinque Ports*, *first discoverer of that new Plantation*, which in honour of His *Mistress* he named *Virginia*. But above all

of so incomparable a dexterity in his Judgment, as the Treasurer, (who had already, by an universall compliance with the King and his Countrymen, purchased the Monopoly of his favour) grew jealous of his excellent parts, lest he should supplant him. And this was the first cause of his bringing to that Triall, from whence Gondamor and our Espaniolized English took this last advantage to cut off his head: which Edward Wimarck the Pauls-walker wished upon Sr Robert Nantons shoulders, one of the Secretaries of State; who conscious of the need he had of such good parts, convened him for it, but without any better successe then making himselfe ridiculous; yet had he or his master owned so much understanding as witty Wimarck meant, that made me wish, we should not have found such cause to complain now of his

Sonnes evill Counsell; left him by descent from King James. That gave this fatall blow, not possibly then to be seconded by such another, Made so much the heavier, because procured at the sute of an Enemy.

His death was by him managed with so high and Religious a resolution, as if a Roman had acted a Christian, or rather a Christian a Roman: So as amongst the number that contributed to the destruction of the Earle of Essex, none but he died pittied. Which James finding, he after the Mode of weak and ill-consulted Princes, set forth in print a Declaration, which according to the ordinary successesse of such Apologies, rendered the condition of that proceeding worse in the worlds opinion: It begins thus,

Though I take my selfe bound to give

give no other account of my actions but to God; yet &c.

8. By his Majesties example, no lesse then perswasions, the States of the united Provinces (not knowing to which side this new Prince would propend) were induced to a Truce with Spain for twelve years: Who before, and since most successfully resisted that King in defence of Liberty; A felicity due to man by birth-right, and incapable of forfeiture but to the wrath of God, that doth not seldome convert it into Tyranny, after a generall detension into license and oppression, Through which Senators grow so rich as they are tempted to Ambition: Though few besides them have had the dexterity to gain their Freedom, or skill to keep it when fortune did fairely present them with it: Yet ordinarily exercised in all Corporations; Men in Government
H 3 resem;

resembling Horses, that are farre lesse ranting, and easier brought to an even temper, being linck'd together in a Teeme, then single in a Chariot, as over-tickled with the Trapings of Pride and Honour: Therefore more unanimous in warre then Peace; unlikely then, as now, to produce to the Netherlands any greater advantage then a confession of a Right, theirs before in possession, By treating them in an equall degree of honour with other Princes and Free-States. For in this Truce was hatched the Conspiracy of Bernavelt, the Faction of the Arminians, and so many other evil humours contracted, as have given them ever since a full employment to correct and evaporate. The constitution of this kind of Government being so delicate and mathematical call, That, as it is least capable of error, so if one chance to creep in

(as possibly may by too long indulging of a Family) it doth hazard, if not unravell the whole web. To conclude, they are not in my experience or reading parallel'd, by any people besides themselves in this, To become rich by a defensive warre: The Swis, though owners of brave actions, are yet so farre their Pupils in the learning of trade, That whilst the one out of plenty is able to hire assistance of their Neighbours, The other out of meer necessity are become the Cudgells with which the rest of the world doth upon all occasions beat one another. All which considered might raise an Use of Instruction to England, not unfurnished with as good Mariners, No lesse then one of Example to Venice: who might, if she looked within and without, finde people enough to make them, were they cured of the Trembling of the heart,

heart, a disease perhaps incident to all Republicks not founded in Armes. But in a venerable reverence to the ghosts of Lipsius, Sr Henry Savill, Strada and other bold Authors, That arraigne Tacitus for his Digressions no lesse then Stile; who have no doubt raised so numerous an issue to their judgments as may hereafter sacrifice these leaves to a like Censure. I shall returne to King James, who had farre worse Books (said, and no doubt truly, to be of his writing) as intemperately on the other side praised by flatterers; which elevated his imagination to so high an esteem of his Wisdome, that he, out of an impertinent emulation, was thought to affect Sr Walter Rawley the lesse, because of the great reputation that followed him for his excellent Penne: so as, after much scorn cast upon it, being modestly demanded what fault he found, he answered, as

one surprised, that he spake irreverently of King Henry the eighth: which could not be the naturall cause, though first in his apprehension, since none ever exclaimed more against that Prince, then usually he did. But however, this is very notorious, that he dedicated rainy weather to his Standish, and fair to his Hounds, or any thing else that owned the voyce of pleasure; which was through the whole series of his Government more acceptable, then any profit or convenience might accure to his people.

9. At his first coming he was long detained from Westminster by a Plague, looked upon it as the greatest, till exceeded in that which broke out after his death; Taken by the ill-boding English for a presage of worse daies then they had already seen: the good Government of Queen

Elizabeth not being in probability likely to bear the charges (without falling into some destructive Commotion) of *two such expensive Princes* in Succession, without having one more popular to intervene.

10. After the Peace , of too near concernment to his *Catholick Majesty* to afford him leasure to imagine, much lesse to insert so rugged an Article as the performance of any promise our King had made before his reception, in case the *Papists* did not oppose, (which I have found registered by many , and so high as amounted to a *Toleration* at least) he observd in prudence it could not be conceded by this new King, however he stood affected in his desires, having so many of his Subjects *Protestants* , for one of the *Roman Profession* : And being besides no more zealous then other Princes , that
make

make use of Religion only for a
fence to immure their Persons and
Prerogative. But esteeme it a meere
accident where Reason of State
drives on a bargain without it; He
left the poore Catholicks in the
wide field of the Scottish Cruelty,
who did daily beg, sell or exchange
such as preferred conscience before
unreasonable compositions, remain-
ing obstinate in their Recusancy:
which, in this excessive extremity
some either were so farre indulged
by others, or themselves, as to take
their estates off from this Scotch
hook, did about this time goe to
Church. Whilest King James stood
so amazed at his present felicity,
That the fleecing his Subjects did
seeme to concerne him no more,
Then it doth the love-sick Bride-
groom to loose all his Gloves, Rib-
band, Garters and Points to the ve-
ry single one that keeps all from

&c.

&c. For though the frequent *Petitions* of these *plundered people*, no lesse then the *recommendations* of *Ministers of forraigne States* might for the present incline his heart (which in its own nature was not cruell) to commiseration: yet upon a lively representation of that northerne *Puppet-play* whose Scenes they lay in the *Church of Rome*, pretending the least candor used to these *Canaanites* would call his *Mothers finnes* to a new remembrance, and so conjure up the spirit of *Rebellion*, against which there can be no apter Sacrifice then the retainers to that *Community*, which beautifies the vesteries of *Scotland &c*: in the shape of a *Beast &c*: which once heard interpreted a by curtailed *Divine*, he either durst not or would not abate this rigor, But rather increased their despaire by daily *threats of worse*, and *Invectives* owned as written by him.

himselfe, which though some might consider as too Theatricall to be recall, yet others not so well vers'd in his *Majesties Royall craft*, And having possibly besides been swallowed by one of these Harpies, that like *Cormorants* will retaine the prey till their throates be cut, may be excused in part, if *finding their hopes deluded they fell into despair*, especially hearing the unces-
sant cry made by the *Commons* in the house of *Parliament* for a fresh supply of *Laws against Recusants*, and all that lay but under the least notion of a *Popish affection*; which was a latitude some extended as far as *Prelacy*, others bounded it very little on this side *Anabaptisme*: Though they saw them daily thrown into a *denne of Scotch-men*, which the Court did already so naturally resemble, as nothing made penall by Law either in *Church* or *Commons*.

mon-weale, but was by the King granted to *his Conuntry-men*, and by them exacted to the uttermost farthing. Many in the mean time venting their spleen (capable of better imployment) in *Libels* and *Songs*, of one of which I remember two lines at this time, and may doe more hereafter.

In Scotland he was borne and bred

And though a Beggar must be fed
 This made the *Papists* look about them, not a little terrified to see the King turne his quill (the sharpest weapon he handled throughout his whole raigne) against the *Pope*. And though they had faire *Cards* at that time to shew for their *Opinions* (by reason of the *Bishops* and more politick *Clergy* who began now to find no head so likely to support them, as one naturally issuing out of their own bosom), being in this single condition
 likely

ng kly no longer to subsist, than found
by necessary to the *temporall power*)
ar- then they were ever able to draw
me- during the dayes of the *Queen*:
of- let they wanted patience to attend
and- their better *Fortune*, which no time
in- since the dissolution of the *Abbyes*
may- King James, holding no *Bishop No*
king for as reall an article in the mi-
red- nery of *Monarchy*, as they did *No Ce-*
Fed-emony no *Bishop* in that of the *Hie-*
out-archy) was more likely to have
see- brought about, had they not ma-
ear- nifested such foule play, as an in-
gh- deavour to blow up the houses of
the- Parliament; a *Treason* of so bloody
ire- intendment, That it almost ap-
be- pears a fiction to us that saw it,
Bi- though two of the heads of the *Con-*
gy- spirators, *Catesby* and *Percy* (if not
I- since removed, and others set in
na- their places, as I have been told)
be- remaine still on the *house of Lords*
ion- to witnesse it; Some *Priests* ha-
els- ving

ving *disavowed* any such thing *Print beyond sea*, where I my self was asked the same Question: And such as want impudence to deny it doe yet only acknowledge it for the single attempt of some few discontented spirits, rendred desperate through the heavy affliction they then lay under: all their hopes being lost in the neglects of the Kings of Spain and England. The first remaining as carelesse of his Faith, as the other did of the performance of his word: Though Garnet their Arch Priest was one, and about that time Prayers and Fasts appointed to be used by those Romishly affected throughout this whole Realme.

II. I never met two of a like conceit, concerning any effect or extent this powder might have reached, had it not fail'd of successe since one did confie it (who pretended

ended to have been assisting at the
bringing of divers Mines) to the
Circle it lay in, and no farther than
to the shaking of the contiguous
buildings, whereas the Judgment
of others no lesse experienced, de-
clined at least the whole Isle to the
ruine of it: But the Lord Wilmot
did in my mind offer the most pro-
bable conjecture (who had seen a
like quantity of powder fired upon
a Wharfe in Dublin) that by rea-
son of the weight and straightnesse
of the Vault which would have gi-
ven it all leasure to kindle, it could
not but have wrought dire effects
upon the Citty it selfe: Since the
other did no lesse, though it had
no narrower Arch to restrain it,
then that of Heaven. This I am
sure of that it had over whelmed
Church and State; A Conspiracy
drag'd out of Hell, nay worse than
the Divell himselfe, for he seeks
to

to preserve his own, whereas this d
 passed by few of the same profession tha
 many known Papists then sitting ma
 in the House of Lords, besides o b
 ther private ones, that were min e m
 gled amongst the Commons. Happy rod
 for us that may safely guesse at the ve
 consequence, and are by speciall
 mercy of Almighty God removed
 from the danger: It having been
 very unlikely for our Family to el the
 cape, since at that very time my Fa a
 ther maintained Mr Thomas Bright f
 man under his roof. Yet let me
 justify the charity of these under- no
 miners so far, as to say they only ab
 intended to their calculation the de- le
 struction of the house of Lords; Un-
 lesse Report was found more chari-
 table than they.

12. Here, as in most Conspi-
 racies of like composition, the for-
 mer mentioned Priest was a princi-
 pall Ingredient; of whom after
 his

this death they reported *Wonders*,
that the perfect effigies of his Face
remained in the straw used to dry up
the bloud on the Scaffold; But all
the miracle I could observe was the
prodigiousnesse of the attempt, who
have had some of those strawes in
their hands, yet could observe no
more than by imposing upon my Im-
agination (first prompted through
others reports) I found, as may be
seen in all strawes else, the resemblance
of a Beard, and something fancy was
at that time apt to cast into the
shape of a Face, being formerly
concealed by the generall Opinion:
Yet these no doubt are sold and passe
at this day for *Reliques*, as I know
they did 20 years after, and he
for a *holy Saint*. From whence we
may judge at the *Originall*, no lesse
than *validity* of divers at this day
current amongst us; such *false coyne*
being in some judgments absolved
from

from all tincture of *corruption* d
to deceit, by the *profit* and rev
rence they procure to *commerce*
As if God had so poorly provide
for his honour as to want the wea
supporters of *falsehood* and *credulity*;
Since what he could say in ex
cuse of the *Treason* (which he pro
fessed alwaies to abhorre) was
that it came to his knowledge un
der the *scale of Confession*. He
was executed at the west gate of
Pauls, having the favour only to
hang 'till he was dead; The re
being used too *cruelly*, as may be
thought by all that remove their
eyes never so little from the merits
of the cause.

13. The *Discovery* appeared no
lesse *Admirable*, than the *Treason*,
to such as took the Printed report
for authenticke, That a letter was
sent to the Lord Morley, and from
him to his Majesty &c: a neat de-
vice

of the *Treasurer's* to fetch him
to whose estate or person, if
both, he had quarrell. He
was very plentiful in such Plots,
writing a book a little after, where-
in to magnify his zeal to *Religi-*
and the State, he published a
libel where they threaten to kill
him, with a well pen'd *Answer*,
which thought to smell of the same
kind. All which he did to recover
the Love of the people, forfeited
the hate he expressed to *their*
Earling Essex, and the desire he
had to render *Justice* and *Preroga-*
the Arbitrary. But he that fol-
lows this track too farre may possi-
bly fall into the snare of power.

14. I never found any signal
favour or respect given from the
Court to the L^d Morly; which ren-
ders their conjecture the more pro-
bable who did report as from the
French Embassadour then resident,
that

that the first intimation of the powder Treason came from his Master who received it from the Jesuits of his Faction, to the end he might share in our ruines; The Kingdom of England being in the Pope's own Judgment too great an addition to that of Spain, where though it was first coyned (some say during the dayes of Queen Elizabeth) yet the Priests that undertooke promoting it, sought to render the most beneficiall they could to their respective Patrons. And here I cannot omit that after this happy Discovery, his Catholique Majesty sent an Agent on purpose to Congratulate King James his great preservation; A flattery so palpable, as the Pope could not refrain laughing in the face of Cardinall Ossat when he first told it him, Nor he forbore to informe his King of it as may be found in his printed Letters.

It being notorious that at James's first assumption to the throne of *England* none sought his destruction more cordially than the *Parliament*, 'Till a continued tract of experience had fully acquainted him with his temper, and the impossibility of perswading him to form any League with *France* or other Christian Prince against him. Nor was our King himself backward in cementing this Innocent Opinion amongst his Neighbours, but did as soon as he could possibly by neglecting the Royall Ships, and casting contempt upon all formerly in Military Employment (the wings, sails and teeth of the Nation) Testify to the world he meant to spoil his people of their honour, lands, liberty, goods or Lawes, But those all Princes celebrated for wisdom and gallantry think themselves tied in nature to preserve:
by

by which he intailed misery upon his succession, And without the more mercy of God eternal shame very to &c: For by penning the English valour, and opening the fountaines of honour, with a succession of neglect cast upon the Nobility and Commons in their Representatives, by denying them their reasonable demands, or deluding them after his Royal assent given, by going contrary to what was enacted, these practises put him upon such low shifts, that he at last having rendered himselfe incapable of trust did descend to have the money given by the Parliament, deposited in the hand of Commissioners; one of which he did notwithstanding altogether force it, according as his impetuous expences demanded supplies. Nor was he more steacy in his compactes with forraigne Princes, where in a small time became so well acquainted

maintained with his Complexion,
that his promise did not incite them
further to hope or feare, or raise in
any of them the passions of Love or
hatred. And this is one of the Rea-
sons then given, why the most Chri-
stian King did so farre indulge his
clemency as to advertise him of
his former Conspiracy, lest he
should exchange Herb John for Co-
quintida. Another, but in my O-
pinion (though strongly prest by
his Ministers) a very weak one
is, for what obligation can restraine
a Prince that sees an advantage be-
come him) was the favours recieved
from hence during the League: But
the most probable was the advan-
tage Spain was likely to make of
this first, by reason he had an army
ready in Flanders to land in
some huge mist so black a cloud must
needs have caused over the Nation:
How can his Holinesse himselfe look
upon

upon our ruine with any affection
England being of too great a con-
 sequence to fall under any other ju-
 risdiction save her owne, but to such
 an excesse as may hazard *his obedience*:
 Many things being now suf-
 fered in relation to the *fear* of o-
 thers, which would not in a full ple-
 nitude of power be conceded out of
 Love; besides experience hath suf-
 ficiently informed the Consistory
 that *Church-lands*, are not only un-
 ravel'd, but so weaved into the
 states of the Laity, as not to be
 capable of separation by any Com-
 version or other heate then such
 zeale as first refunded them out of
 the hearts of Converts, and stamp-
 ed upon them an *impreſſe of Merit*.
 Not likely to be kindled amid
 such knowledge as *Printing* hath
 inspired *Europe* withall, And
 which so strict a watch is kept over
 what is *dubious* as nothing can quiet

ly passe without such a warrant from
Reason, as the Clergy have in
no age been yet able to produce.
Wherefore their hopes are in a man-
ner buried as to the profits of Eng-
land, and by consequence chil'd
from any vigorous prosecution far-
ther then concerns his Holiness's ho-
nour, in seeming to desire the pre-
servation of those Catholickes that
remaine: And this did not only fa-
cilitate the entrance of King James,
but might occasion the discovery
of the Plot; Which done to some
Prince had drawn death or banish-
ment upon them all; for at the bot-
tome or top, either by contributi-
on or prayers, the Lawyers would
not have stuck to find them all guilt-
y: so as he then wanted not per-
suasions to banish them, But his
Complection being More flegme
then choler, He only suffer'd the
Parliament to sharpen Lawes against
I 2 them,

them, that they might be the more obliged to him for *stopping their execution*; It being the generall opinion of the Court, that *after this he was more tender of their preservations*, They attaining by feare what no pitty nor policy could procure.

15. To Conclude, whosoever revealed this *Conspiracy*, it cost, as I have often been told, the *King of France his Life*, not only by questioning the truth of his *Conversion*, but did raise so high a *suspicion* of the *immense Treasure* and *mighty Army* he had with no lesse industry then secrecy gotten together (not one living owning to this day the knowledge of his designe) in the hearts of *Spaine* and *Rome*, as they procured *his death*: his freedome to the King of *England* rendering this silence the more suspected.

16. Now to take off the Subjects

jects eyes from observing the Indulgency used by James in behalfe of the Papists, whom though he had no cause to love, he found reason enough to feare, A Quarrell was revived, (now almost asleep, because it had long escaped persecution, the bellows of schisme) with a people stiled Puritans, Who meeting no neerer a definition then the name, All the conscientious men in the Nation shared the contempt: Since under that generall terme were comprehended not only those brain-sick fooles as did oppose the Discipline and Ceremonies of the Church and made Religion an Umbrella to impiety, But such as out of meere honesty refrained the Vices of the times were branded by this Title; weaved of such a fashion, as it became a covering to the wicked, and no better then a fooles-coat to men truly Conscientious. Neither was

any, charged with it, though in the best relation, thought competent for *preferment* in *Church* or *Common-weale*: which made *the* *bad* *glory* in *their* *Impiety*, And such as had not an extraordinary measure of grace ashamed of any outward *profession* of *sanctity*. *Court Sermons* were fraught with bitter *Invectives* against *these* *people*, whom they seated in a classe farre neerer the confines of hell, then *Papists*; Yet the wisest durst not define them. The King called them *Protestants* *fear'd* *out* *of* *their* *wits*, others *Lovers* *of* *God*, and *haters* *of* *their* *Neighbours*; Foolish and insignificant expressions: For had they held them to the names of *Hypocrites*, known and abominated by all, they would have been buried in contempt, and not risen, as since they have done, to the perpetuall detriment of *Church* and *State*. But the *breadth* and *new*

the use of the Name, together with
the colour it hath, did not only de-
light and cover all that cheated un-
der a pretence of Sanctity, but stifled
the seeds of goodnesse; so as probity
was obstructed by deceit in the ge-
nerall commerce, And Religion,
the guard of propriety, rendered
uselesse if not destructive to humane
society.

Thus hath the Divell quenched
for what was but a rivelet then, is
now swelled to a Land-floud) that
deale with Hypocrisy, and its con-
comitants Shame and Reproach,
which in my fathers daies resisted
the flames of the hottest persecuti-
on: For to avoyd an imputation of
Puritanisme (a greater rub in the
way to preferment, then vice) our
Divines for the generality did sacri-
fice more time to Bacchus, then Mi-
sericordia; And being excellent Com-
pany, drew the most ingenious laie

ty into a like *excesse*: And for their ordinary *Studies* they were *School points* and *passionate expressions*; as more conversant with the *Fryars* then the *Fathers*, scorning in their ordinary discourse at *Luther* and *Calvin*, but especially at the last, so as I heard a Bishop *thank God* he never (though a good Poet himselfe) had read a line in him or *Chaucer*. The same used this simile in a Sermon at Court, *That our Religion like the Kings Armes, stood between two beasts, the Puritan and Papist*, which perhaps admitted of a better construction then he meant, *The last* being, like the *Lion*, easily known; but *the first*, suitable to an *Unicorne*, never seene put in Painting. (Nor was this Schisme any waies dangerous, till King James (more it may be thought out of ostentation, to shew such parts as are nothing necessary, then Reason

of State, only requisite in a Prince, made it considerable, by putting it in competition with the Doctrine generally profest, in a Colloquie held before his Royall Person at Hampton Court: where he finned so highly against the experience to be deduced from the French and Scots, who by offering the unquestioned or at least legall Profession to Arbitration, have brought their Religious habit into such a motly, as 'tis scarce discernable which side is the right, or with the most safety may be owned by the Magistrate. Since, till that dishonourable dispute, Who should command, the Diocesan or the Priest, none did boggle at the Surplice, Crosse, Ring, and so by consequence the Common-Prayer-book, but out of pure Conscience, and therefore unlikely to hurt any besides themselves; till the number increasing to such a proportion, made

a visible profit appeare to so many as wanting better imployment, could but conforme their *Mode*, words and looks to these *precisians*; though discrepant in heart from any thing the first owners of the title of *Puritan* did commonly practice in their conversation towards God and man: *This generation* being ordinarily found, especially after any long admittance, so well acquainted with the *Secrets of God*, as to distinguish between the *Reprobate* and *Elect*. Which *whimsy* grew upon the *Kings Disputation* (whom you must presume they overcame in *noyse*, and all things else but *Logique* and *Power*) so universal, as it became a good *Benefactour* to all incapable through *ignorance* of any other *preferment*, and a *Sanctuary* to such wicked persons as had the art to *dissemble a repentance*. Nor did the notorious *debauchery of the Episco-*
pal

all Clergy adde a little to the rent, much augmented by the Scottish propensity to *Presbytery*, Though the chiefest promoters of it in their doctrine and example were the *Lecturers, Vicars, and Persons of inconsiderable Worth and Livings*, Being the readier to oppose Authority, as having little to loose; becoming by this means the darlings of the rabble. Nor did the suddaine Translations of Bishops from lesse to greater Seas give time to visit sufficiently their respective charges; Being more intent upon the receipt of such taxes as a long abused custome had estated them in, then upon Reformation. I have been the more punishable, because from the Pulpit came all our future miseries, God not being served there as he ought. The Court-Sermons informing his Majesty he might as Christs vice-gerent Command all, And that the people.

ple, if they denied him supplement
or inquired after the disposure of it,
were presumptuous peepers into the
sacred Arke of the State; not to be
done but under the severest curse,
though it appeared likely to fall
through the falshood or folly of
those at the helme: But on the con-
trary the other qualified Preachers
did fulminate against non-residency,
profanation of the Lords day, con-
vivance at Popery, persecution of
Gods people, only inclusive in their
Congregations, and those that sup-
plied the wants of such like Saints
as themselves, who maintained their
families, & kept them in good plight
out of the Fasts they did weekly as-
signe, at first in private, and af-
ter before the face of the Sunne, and
all this without or against the leave
of the Magistrate. But if this
should be prosecuted to its farthest
extent, it would moderate, if not
expunge

expunge all the vilany legible in
story:

17. Now by this time the Na-
tion grew feeble, and over-opprest
with Impositions, Monopolies, Aydes,
Privy Scales, Convealmnts, pre-
mised Customers &c. Besides all
forfeitures upon penall Statutes, with
multitude of tricks more to cheat
the English Subject (the most, if
not all, unheard of in *Queene Eli-
zabeth's* dayes) which were spent
upon the Scots: By whom nothing
was unasked, and to whom nothing
was denied; who for want of hone-
ster trafficke did extract Gold out
of the faults of the English; whose
pardons they beg'd, and sold at into-
lerable rates, Murder it selfe not
being exempted: Nay I dare bold-
ly say, one Man might with more
safety have killed another, then a
raskall-deere; But if a Stagge had
been knowne to have miscarried,
and

and the Authour fled, a *Proclamation* with a description of the party hath been presently penned by the *Attourney generall*, and the penalty of his *Majesties high displeasure* (by which was understood the *Starre chamber*) threatned against all that did abet, comfort, or relieve him. Thus Satyrical, or, if you please Tragicall was this *Sylvan Prime* against *Dear-killers*, and indulgent to *Man slayers*. But lest this expression should be thought too Poetical, I shall leave him dress'd to posterity in the colours I saw him in the next Progress after his *Inauguration*, which was as green as the grasse he trod on with a *Fether* in his *Cap*, and a *Horne* instead of a *Sword* by his side. how suitable to his *Age*, Calling of *Person*, I leave to others to judge from his *Pictures*, he owning the *Countenance* not in the least resembling

unblameable to any my eyes ever met
with, besides an Host dwelling in
the hill, formerly a Shepherd,
known so metaphorically of the same
profession: He that evening par-
aded with his Queen, and to shew
himself more uxorious before the
people at his first coming than in
private he was, he did at her Coach
side take his leave, by Kissing her
efficiently to the middle of the
shoulders, for so low she went bare
all the daies I had the fortune to
know her; having a Skinne far more
comely than the Features it cove-
red, Though not the Disposition, in
which Report rendred her very de-
bonaire.

18. I do now consent freely to
the justness of their award who may
in this age condemne of vanity such
observations as these: yet having
deduced from experience, that it is
not only the Frailty, but Custome
and

and pure Nature of Humanity to
venerate the least splinter of Anti-
quity, beyond any thing beares
the impresse of the present age,
though commonly of no higher de-
scend then the Grecian or Roman
Monarchy; young and infantine in
relation to the world's beginning,
and so of an inconsiderable force to
contest with Printing, having them-
selves with all the monuments they
could raise been out stripped by a
number of Bookes that had nothing
else to keep them alive but the ink
that dropped from the Writers Pen.
Nor shall I, encouraged by the pre-
sumption of this greater advantage,
refuse to register all I know or doe
but firmly believe, As one delight-
ing more in the contemplation of
a future Resurrection in the opini-
ons of those that may possesse this
Nation many ages hence, then terri-
fied with the Censures or contemp-

of my owne. Nor did I ever yet
meet any Reason to alter the con-
fidence I have in some of my Con-
temporaries, That they equall, if
not exceed such as are most cele-
brated in all things but time: And he
that is such an Infidell in the desert
of his Country as to deny it, I leave
him to our former Sermons for his
conversion, And to the Stage for
a finall confutation of so much par-
tiality. As for me, I ever aimed
my indeavours rather at the satis-
faction of a single Reader, like my
selfe, who only seekes to Learne,
Than those think they are able to
Teach; who deale by Authors,
as the Jewes did by our Saviour, that
buried all the advantage might have
been made of his Divinity, in the
seeming frailties of his Humanity,
without which they could not have
had any commerce, or understand-
ing of Truth, or drawne any be-
nefit

nesit from what others writ, or him-
 self suffered. Neither can I appre-
 hend it a greater folly in me to re-
 gister the *yellowness of Queen Anne's*
Haire, with other *levities* (which
 may seem pertinent to *Posterity*
 though trivial now, yet of as high
 concernment as *Caesar's Nose*) That
 for the *Earle of Arundel* to give so
 many hundred Crowns for an Urn
 a Mason would not have valu'd at
 a penny; yet he was not only com-
 mended, but imitated by *King*
Charles, who cannot appear ig-
 norant to any so happy as to retain
 what he hath left. And these are
 the *Merchants* I look one day to
 trafique with, in the mean time
 the stock of the buyer need not be
 dead, having some thing else of
 more credit in the world's opinion
 though not in my own that writ it.
 But to sound a retreat to this Sally
 I would fain know, how these
 circum-

circumstances could be spared by
such Almanack-gazers (that are
one of the Booksellers worst Chap-
men) who may give credit to the
White King, or the vision of one in
Green, said to be averred from Italy
——— Though I take such pre-
tensions upon no more solid an ac-
count, than flying vapors the for-
mer terrified imaginations of a dis-
contented people do not seldome
run into the prodigious shapes of
armies and fighting men.

19. All Kings cast away Mo-
rality the day of their Enthronment;
but James did it all his life. And
were to speak God's truth, what
better measure could be expected
from that Line, The English folly
or hypocrisy had rendred Mother-
love, by the infamous and unprince-
ly mediation of a Hangman? But
the fault in suffering an Alien by
law, no less than an Enemy in af-
fection

section to enter by any wider admittance than through *both houses of Parliament*, hath not only given *the Nation* in generall, but the *Earle of Northumberland* in particular sufficient cause to wipe their eyes who cannot but leave to Posterity the *Scarres*, if not *woundes*, received from such a *blind mistake*, as in imagining any *future obligation* of *precedent benefit* should expunge out of the heart of a Prince (that apprehends nothing about him but what he takes as his due by inheritance) the *markes of a former injury* or a *jelousy* depending on an *after fear*. For the thoughts of Kings when *established*, are so farre altered as to receive inspirations from more *remoter interests* then what their *own passions* direct them to, unless *compel'd*: So as *James*, not taking his prospect from the *love* shewn in his *quiet admittance*,

the height of his subjects power,
gan to muster up the Armies the
English had raised against his na-
Country, and not only to mea-
the, but to weigh the blood spilt
the borders, amongst which he
and that of James the 5th mingled
with his Allies; which prompted
no lesse to revenge, than the ma-
perjuries, cruelties and perfidi-
carriages of his Ancestors, stil
ging on a file in the English Me-
ry, did to distrust. Nor had
Earle of Northumberland, of ho-
rable extraction and exquisite
dition, though muffled with
to the person of that Prince.
his owne Ambition, any reason
think the memory of the money
supplied him with in Scotland,
ould not quite vanish upon the first
arition of the Exchequer at West-
ster; or that the Forces he of-
to raise in his favour, in case of
Oposi-

Opposition, would seem lesse than
 formadable to him when quiet in
 his chair; where once placed, Mon-
 arches do rather ruminare on fu-
 ture dangers, than former benefices.
 Kings, like imperious Husbands
 perverting, after Marriage, the
 stolen favours into Jealousy, They
 before an indissoluble interest were
 reckoned for marks of no lesse
 obligation than confidence; out of
 distrust, that upon discontent, their
 same arts and caresses may be im-
 ploy'd to their damage. However
 this suited with Northumberland's
 sense, I am sure it fell pat with
 success; for after indeavour fail'd
 to find him so farre smutt'd with
 the gunpowder plot as might en-
 gage his life, he was cast into the
 Star-Chamber, that Den of arbi-
 trary justice, where the Keeper
 the time being, two Bishops, were
 Judges, and as many wise Lawyers

hand honest great Officers sate, as
were pleased to come, The most
of whom, though unable to render
Reason for their censure, did, e-
very Wednesday and Friday in Terme
time, concurre like &c. to tear
such as refused to worship the Mi-
Thron, or to yeeld to the pretended
weyall Prerogative. Nor did they
escape who were any way Satyrical,
of thing not to be avoided by the lo-
vers of truth; Corruption being as
in common as execution, with which
were seldome went other than hand
and hand: But the main employ-
ment of this Court, was, like
school-boys, to hold up one the
winner, whilest their Master whipt
them. Amongst whom was this
Earle fined (if I mistake not) at
100000's, with Imprisonment in
the Tower during his Majesties plea-
s, there, which was so great that he
kept him in there divers years, up-
on

on what score was not then so easily discerned: for if *Percy* was *his* kinsman, it is as true that he had layne many nights in the *King's Chamber* before he came hither, and been imploy'd in private by him to the *English Catholickes*, yet *his Majesty* would have taken it ill to have been thought a *Papist*, or a conspirer of *Queen Elizabeth's* death. Not to proceed farther upon an exasperated and single evidence, otherwise than that it did not fute with any thing I could observe in *his temper*, much lesse with a person of *his honour* and *Fortune* to exchange so happy a present condition, for any future advantage he could hope to scramble out from amongst cinders and ruines of *his Country*.

20. It was the fashion of those times, and did so continue till these (wherein not only the *Mother*, but

er Daughters are ruined) for the principall Gentry, Lords, Courtiers, and men of all professions not merely Mechanick, to meet in Pauls Church by eleven, and walk in the middale Ile till twelve, and after dinner from three, to six, during which time some discoursed of Businessse, others of Newes. Now, in regard of the universall commerce, there happened little that did not first or last arrive here: And I being young, and wanting a more advantageous imployment, did, during my sojourn in London, which was three fourth parts of the yeare, associate my selfe at those houres with the choicest company I could pick out, amongst such as I found most inquisitive after affaires of State; who being then my selfe in a daily attendance upon a hope (though a rotten one) of a future Preferment, I appeared the more considerable, being

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ing as ready to *satisfy*, according to my weak abilities, *their Curiosity*, as they were *mine*: who out of a *candid nature* were not ordinarily found to *name* an *Author*, easily lost in such a *concourse*, where his *owne report* was not seldome within few minutes *returned* to him from *newes* by another. And these *Newsmongers*, as they called them, did not only take the boldnesse to weigh in the *publick* but most *intrinsick actions of the State*, which some *Courtier* or other did betray to this *Society*; Amongst whom divers being very Rich had *great summes owing them* by such as stood next the throne, who by this meanes were rendered in a manner *their Pensurers*, So as I have found since little Reason to question the *truth* of what I heard then, but much to confirm me in it; wherefore the bolder to insert a *report* then current; which was,

was, *The King thought Northumberland too intimate with his Sonne Henry, who in vindication of this Earles persecution cast a malignant aspect upon the Houses of Suffolke and Sarisbury, thought no waies avertible but by his Death. But since a likely Lye may with more Manners and lesse reproach be imposed upon beliefe, then an improbable truth without witnesse, I shall for this time wade no farther in the present discourse, already thought dry in the Memory of the most: Though this remaines upon record, that brave Fortescue, that did first oppose this Scottish succession but upon Caution; injoyed his liberty, without any more considerable losse then sustained by the exchange of the Chancellors place in the Exchequer, for that in the Duchy of Lancaster, remaining to the last a Counsellor: whereas Northumberland,*

that had drawne his Sword in his favour, was made Captive, disgraced, and insulted over by his enemies: which, Fortune, to render it more terrible, did some yeares after allot his Son the Lord Percy a Wife out of the family of Sarisbury, whose blood the Father said would not mingle in a Bason, so averse was he from it. Nor had Fortescue better successe, when, by a huge entertainment at Cornebury, he went about to oblige the King; for as Tomlins, once his Secretary, told me, He at his parting laught, and let a—— in the Porch. Wherefore we may note it, as equally pernicious to oblige a Prince above a reasonable requitall, as to oppose him beyond the extent of a moderate patience.

21. About this time the Puritans, exasperated by the Bishops who

(who to render their *preferments* of more consequence to *Monarchy*, upon whose dependance they now only subsisted, would not suffer them to be so long at *quiet* as might give them leave to *recover their senses*) did in a submissive way (incouraged by the *Hugonots* successe) mediate another *Colloque* before the *King*, whom they endeavoured to draw to *their party* by the *high esteeme* pretended they had of *his Learning*; though *Church land* was the most pious inducement in the eyes of those *Scotch* and *English* that did prompt them to it upon promise of their best assistance: But *his Majesty* having found by his former experience, that *Schismes* are attended with a smaller train of *Inconveniences*, and easier buried and with lesse *Clamour*, in *Sufferance* and *contempt*, then by *Opposition* or *Disputation*, did most stily deny

it; appearing highly displeased, that, after so manifest a conviction, he should againe be tempted to hazard his Reason against such as had nothing but a brutish obstinacy to oppose: which Answer was allowed of as farre more Majesticall and politic then his former concession in descending to a formall disputation: since Opinions rooted by descent are sooner chilled through want of preferments, then eradicated by power; which arraignes the exposing of any religion to contest as dangerous, seeing all at this day in veneration are under persecution in some place or other, wherefore unable to silence the Reason of those formerly suborned through a contrary Education.

22. In the meane time this Nation was rooted up by those *Calendonian Bares*, as these homely verses do attest, which were every where

where posted, and do containe as many Stories as Lines, which I shall explaine, though they may possibly fall out of order, it not suting with the liberty of a Spirit, that walkes rather for its owne exercise then the instruction of an ignorant and ingratefull State, to be punctuall.

They Beg our Lands, our Goods,
our Lives,

They Switch our Nobles, and
lye with their wives;

They Pinch our Gentry, and
send for our Benchers,

They Stab our Sargeants, and
pistoll our Fencers.

That they were gracions with the English Ladies none can doubt that hath had but the opportunity to peepe into a Court, where the Love of women is found a consequence of the favour of the Prince.

23. Wherefore I shall take my first rise from him that was then

Philip Herbert, since Earle of Montgomery, a man carressed by King James for his handsome face, which kept him not long Company, leaving little behind it so acceptable as to render him fit society for any body but himselfe, and such Bookes as Posterity may find ordinarily dedicated to him, which might yet have prompted his understanding to a more candid proceeding then he used at Oxford, where he exercised greater passion against Learning, that had by teaching Books to speak English, endeavoured to make him wise, then he did towards Ramsy, who by Switching him on the face at Croydon, rendered him ridiculous: It was at a Horse-race where many both Scotch and English met, The latter of which did upon this accident draw together with a resolution to make it a Nationall Quarrell, so farre as Mr. John Pinchback, though

though a *maimed man*, having but the perfect use of *two fingers*, rode about with his *Dagger* in his hand, crying, *Let us breake our fast with them here, and dine with the rest at London.* But *Herbert* not offering to strike again, *there was nothing spilt but the reputation of a Gentleman*; in lieu of which, if I am not mistaken, the *King* made him a *Knight*, a *Baron*, a *Viscount*, and an *Earle* in one day; as well he deserved, having for his sake, or rather out of fear, transgressed against all the *Gradations of Honour*: For if he had not torne to raggs that *Coat of Arms* so often in my hearing bragged of, and so stanchd the *bloud* then ready to be spilt, Not only *that day*, but all after must have proved fatal to the *Scots*, so long as any had stayd in *England*; The *Royall family* excepted, which in respect to *Majesty*, or their owne *safety*, they

must have *spared* or the Kingdome
been left to the misery of seeing so
much blood laid out as the triall of
so many crabbed Titles would have
required; There being then accord-
ing to report no lesse then *fourteene*,
of which *Parsons* the *Jesuite*, so im-
pudent is this Fraternity, makes the
Infanta the first. But they could not
be these considerations that restrain-
ed *Herbert*, who wanted *leasure* no
lesse then *capacity* to use them,
though laid in his way by others.
And therefore if this *effeminacy* pro-
duced good to the Nation (at that
time doubted by many) the honor
is only due to God, whose miracu-
lous power was no lesse manifested
(upon so high a *provocation* and
great incouragement as the whole
field afforded *Philip*) in raising so
much *fleagme* in a man nobly borne
as might master so great a *fury*,
then when he discovered to *Samp-*
son

from a cold fountaine in the Jaw-bone
of an Asse. And such of his friends
as blame his *Tongue* for doing no-
thing, Take away all excuse could
have been made for him had he done
too much: Since all commonly ar-
rive at the yeares of *Valour*, before
they can attaine to those of *Discre-
tion*. This I can attest for the man,
that he was intolerable *cholerick*
and offensive, and did not refrain,
whilest he was *Chamberlaine*, to
break many wiser heads then his
owne: Mr *May* that Translated
Lucan having felt the weight of his
Staffe; which had not his office, and
the place, being the *Banqueting
House*, protected, I question whe-
ther he would ever have strook a-
gaine: So disobliging were the most
gratefull pleasures of the Court; whose
Masks and other *Spectacles*, though
they wholly intended them for shew,
and would not have been pleased
without

without great store of Company, yet did not spare to affront such as came to see them: which accuseth the King no lesse of Folly, in being also vast an *expense* for that which signified nothing but in relation to *Pride* and *Lust*, Then the *Spectators* (I meane such as were not invited) of *Madnesse*, who did not only give themselves the *discomposure of body* attending such *irregular houres*, but to others an opportunity to abuse them. Nor could I, that had none of their share who passed through the most *incommodious accesse*, count my selfe any great gainer (who did ever find some time before the *grand night* to view the *Scene*) after I had reckoned my *attendance* and *sleep*: There appearing little *observable*, besides the *Company*, and what *Imagination* might conjecture from the *placing of the Ladies*, and the

the immense charge and universall
vanity in Cloathes &c.

24. I have been told the Mother of Herbert tore her haire at the report of her Son's dishonour, who, I am confident, upon a like opportunity would have ransom'd her owne repute, if she had not redeemed her Countries. She was that Sister of Sr. Philip Sidney, to whom he addressed his *Arcadia*, and of whom he had no other advantage than what he received from that partiall benevolence of Fortune, in making him a Man; which yet she did in some Judgments, recompense in beauty: Her Pen being nothing short of his, As I am ready to attest, as far as so inferiour a Reason may be taken, having seene incomparable Lettters of hers. But lest I should seeme to trespasse upon truth, which few doe unsubstorn'd, as I protest I am, unlesse by her Rhetorick, I shall leave

leave the world *her Epitaph*, In
which the *Authour* doth manifest
himselfe a *Poet* in all things but *un-*
truth.

Under neath this Sable Herse
Lies the subject of all Verse :
Sidny's Sister, Pembrok's Mother,
Death ere thou kilest such an other,
Faire and Good & Learn'd as she,
Time shall throw a dart at Thee.
Marble Piles let no man raise
To her Name, For after dayes
Some Kind woman borne as she
Reading this, like Niobe
Shall turne Statue, and become
Both her Mourner & her Tombe,
25. In the meane time the King was
much troubled at this Accident, not
being able to ruminate upon the con-
sequence it might have produced,
without trembling : Nor could he
refraine from letting fall sharp ex-
pressions against the insolency of
the Scots and folly of the English,
whose

whose bloud he pretended to in-
dulge most both within and with-
out him: But this he soone retra-
cted, carying such an awfull reve-
rence to his own *Countrimen*, who
had *chastised him in his Mother's*
belly, as he durst not displease them,
out of feare to find himselfe deser-
ted. It being past peradventure
that he never looked upon the *En-*
glish as friends, the cause he rejoy-
ced in nothing more than promoting
Excesse, by which he hoped to ru-
ine *Nobility and Gentry*. But howe-
ver remote his affections were, he
durst not but *banish Ramsay the*
Court; a poor satisfaction for
Herbert, That was left nothing to
testify his *Man-hood* but a *Beard*
and *Children*, by that *Daughter* of
the last great *Earle of Oxford*, whose
Eady was brought to his *Bed* under
the notion of his *Mistris*, and from
such a *virtuous deceit* she is said to
proceed.

26. One thing was then remarkable at *Croydon* field, that none but *Sr. Edward Sackville*, of the *English*, went on the *Scots* side, and he out of love to the *Lord Bruce*, whom after he killed in a Duell: which was so ill taken by his *Countrymen*, as divers protested, that if the fray had succeeded, he was the first likely to have fallen.

27. The *second* matter of worth in the *Verses* concerns *Mr. Edward Hawly*, an intimate acquaintance of mine, who coming to Court on a grand day, *Maxwell* (more famous for *this* and *wealth*, than *Civility* or *education*, not being ever able to read or write) led him out of the roome by a black string he wore in his eare, a fashion then much in use. But this had like to have cost warme bloud, *Hawly* appearing of another temper, than he at *Croydon*

don: Besides being of *Greys Inne*,
Not only his *Society*, but all the
Gentry in London took themselves
concern'd so farre, as mere stran-
gers flock'd to his *Chamber*; and
though more than needed (he be-
ing apt enough for *revenge* himself)
they besought him to remember
He had the Honour of all the *English*
Gentry in his hands, and if mana-
ged with *Gallantry* and *discretion*
he should find enough to stand by
him; many offering to become his
Seconds, which he could not ac-
cept, having before made choice
of *Mr. Fohn Thoroughgood* since
Knighted, who told *Maxwell*, if
he refused to fight, *Hawly* would
kill him where ever he met with an
opportunity; Which so frightened
King James, that he sent for the *Ben-*
chers, and through the mediation
of *Chancelour Bacon*, formerly of
the same *Society*, took up the
Quarrell.

Quarrell, forcing the *Scot* to give humble satisfaction, to a quiet admission of what *Mr. Hawly* should desire : And farther to solder up the breach, the *Students of Greys Inn* performed an exquisite *Mask* before his *Majesty*, by whom they were after invited to a great *Banquet*, whereat the *Gentlemen*, something contrary to the *rules of Civility*, were so hasty, as to *scramble*, rather than *feed*; for which they underwent a sharp *censure*, being in the presence of many *Scots* who looked upon it with *scorne*, though owned themselves for *Masters of no great Modesty*. Besides when they *kissed the Kings hand*, many put it to their lips with their own, looked on at Court for a low *absurdity*.

28. The *third* relates to one *Murry*, who killed, by the help of his men, a *Sargeant* that came to ar-
re

set him under or neare *Ludgate*,
for which, more to satisfie the
brieffes of *London*, than *Iustice*,
the two *Servants* were hanged, and
the *Master* who was principall,
though with some difficulty, esca-
ped. But the *Lord Zankor* found
no such favour for killing *Turner* the
Sencer, who was a man of eminent
parts, and so better deserved it,
yet his *Servants* and he were exe-
cuted: by whose death the King
satisfied in part the people, and
wholly himselfe; it being thought
he hated him for his *Love to the*
King of France, and not making a-
ny reply when he said in his presence
to one that called our *James* a second
Salomon, That he hoped he was not
David the Fidler's Son: Thus doe
Princes abuse one another.

29. In this place my Memory
presents me with *Sr. Robert Cecil*,
after *Earle of Sarisbury*, famed for
the

the most mortall *enemy* of the *Earle* of *Essex*, and a *seducer* of the *King*, by perswading him *this Nation* was *so Rich*, it could be neither exhausted nor provoked; A saying generally lay'd to his charge, yet contradicted in this practice of his; For the *Earle of Somerset*, being in the *flower* of his *favour* before he had either *Wife* or *Beard*, had got a peremptory warrant to the *Treasurer* for 20000*s*; who, in his exquisite *Prudence*, finding that not only the *Exchequer*, but the *Indies* themselves would in time want fluency to feed so immense a *prodigality*, and not without reason apprehending the *King* as ignorant in the *value* of what was demanded, as the *desert* of the *Person* that beg'd it; And knowing a *Pound*, upon the *Scotch account*, would not pay for the *Shooing* of a *Horse*, by which his *Master* might be farther

led

ed out of the way of thrift, than in
his owne Nature he was willing to
be, being observed very *tenaci-*
ous in the distribution of any mony pas-
sed through his hands or in his pre-
sence; Layd the former mentioned
summe upon the ground in a *roome*
through which his Majesty was to
pass: who amazed at the quantity,
as a sight not unpossibly his eyes
never saw before, asked the Trea-
surer *Whose money it was*, who an-
swered *Tours, before you gave it a-*
way; Whereupon the King fell in-
to *passion*, protesting he was abu-
sed, never intending any such gift:
And casting himselfe upon the *heap*
crabbed out the quantity of 2 or
hundred poundes, and swore he
should have no more: However it
being the *King's Minion*, Cecil
durst not *provoke* him farther than
by permitting him only the *moiety*.
But this not working a perfect cure
upon

upon his *Masters profusenesse*; of
 with the rest of his *vertues* being
 hid from the knowledge of the *Me*
nu, who like *Flies* feast their affe
 ctions upon the *corruptions*, rather
 than sounder parts of *Great*
 And having before had such a du
 raised in their *Cholers*, by his shar
 proceedings against the late *Earl*
Essex, and his *inclosures* of *Hatfield*
Chase (after he had to his so great
 advantage *exchanged* it for his *Ma*
nor of *Theobals*) that the black
 cloud of *detracti*on fell upon all he
 said or did: To which the *Misfor*
tunes accompanying him from his
birth did not a little adde; *A Blem*
in nature, like an *Optique* *Spe*
ctacle, multiplying much, in the
sight of the *People*, the apparition
 of ill. Nor was his *Death*, by pre
 judice looked upon as *Herod's*, nor
 the place it attached him on, viz
Sarisbury plaine in his *Coach*, nor

So his Physitian then present (a
mere Emperick, and celebrated for
his skill but in the cure of the &c.)
small inducements to the reports
which followed: yet when these
were spent, and he as it were reti-
red into that Sanctuary that doth
hide reproach rather than increase it,
Inevitable Fate, by the assistance
perhaps of some Impostume, (which
his maligners Translated into an ef-
fect of God's vengeance, and did
dedicate it to his farther Infamy)
broke the lead he was wrapped in,
with so much noise and stench as af-
frighted the by-standers: There-
fore no wonder he met with no fai-
ner Encomiums, of which I shall re-
late these, not favouring so much
of scurrility, though perhaps lesse of
wit then many did then current.

Here lies throwne, for the wormes
to eat,

Little Boffive Robbin, That was
so Great.

Not

Not Robin Good-fellow, nor
 Robin Hood,
 But Robin th' Enclofer of Hat-
 field wood.

Who seem'd as sent from ugly Fate,
 To spoyle the Prince and rob the
 State.

Owning a Mind of dismall endes,
 As Trappes for Foes, and Tricks
 for Friends.

But now in Hatfield lyes the —
 Who stank while he liv'd and died
 of the ———.

It may be judged by these, how fu-
 ture *Chronicles* agree with common
 fame, which, in my Opinion ought
 not to be rejected, if not chiefly re-
 lied upon. Those that follow came
 from so smart a penne in the King's
 sense, that he said he hoped the Au-
 thor would dye before him: who it was
 God knowes.

Here

Here lies Hobinall, our Pastor
while ere,

That once in a Quarter our Flee-
ces did sheare.

To please us, his Curre he kept un-
der Clog,

And was ever after both Shepherd
and Dog.

For Oblation to Pan his custome
was thus,

He first gave a Trifle, then offer'd
up Us:

And through his false worship such
power he did gaine,

As kept him o'th' Mountaine, and
us on the plaine.

Where many a Horne-pipe he
tun'd to his Phyllis,

And sweetly sung Walsingham
to's Amarillis.

Till Atropos clapt him, a Pox on
the Drab,

For (spight of his Tar-box) he died
of the Scab.

L

It

It is possible posterity may find a *Key* to these *verses*; if not the losse is not much: however it will not be uneasy for her to make one able to serve their turne that never knew the right.

How many so ever *his Faults* were, he was of an *incomparable Prudence*, and coming so neer after such an unadvised *scatterer* as *King James*, he might have *feathered his Family* better then he did, but that he looked upon low things with *contempt*, leaving much to the *gleaning* of *his Servants*, of which many came after into *high places*. Nor may that be improperly applied to him, which is, in another case, said of *Gregory the Great*, That he was *the first ill Treasurer*, and the *last good*, since *Queen Elizabeth's* *dates*: He not standing charged with any grosser *Bribery* or *Corruption* then what lay inclusive under the

the Ceremony of *New-years Gifts*, or his *own* or *Servants* sharing with such as by *Importunity* rather than merit had obtained *Debentur's* out of the *Exchequer*, which through these courses came at last to be so farre exhausted, as it was not able to feed the *Privy-purse* and bear the necessary charges of the household: And this put him upon an improvement of the *Customes*, to the great discouragement of *Merchants*; no lesse then the project of *Baronets*, intended at first for a meer *Cheat* (as a person of Honour and no stranger to *Cecill* did protest) had nor the greater concourse that croud- ed after this Title (rendered infamous by the base consideration of money inserted in their patent) kept it in repute: There having been a Motion made, if not a Bill put in- to the last *Parliament* of *James* against it: No more being by the

L 2 primitive

primitive Institution to be admitted then *two hundred*, and they so *qualified* as were hard to be found, and so the likelier to be *laught out of it* after their *mony* paid, which was all the *Treasurer* desired: who did not by it intend to put any affront upon the *Knights Batchellors*, as was supposed, and he in some disdain questioned for it. But the *Sale of Crown-Timber* appeared of saddest consequence to the *safety* of the *Nation*, in relation to the *Navy*, the *walls of the Kingdome*: *English Oake* being then esteemed of as the best for a *Sea fight*, not being apt to cleave, upon the receipt of a *Shot*, but rather boare: and of these *Millions* were felled and sold at vile prizes, not only during the Life of the *Earl of Sarisbury*, but all the Reigne of *King James*.

30. Now though there did no degrees of *Comparison* appeare in the

the wills of those *Northerne Adjec-
tives*, not able to *subsist* without
England, who like their *Ancestors*
did exchange a *Wildernesse* for a *Ca-
naan*; yet much more *mischiefe* re-
sided in the power of *some* then *o-
thers*; amongst whom now fresh
in my *Memory* are the *Lord Roxbor-
row*, *Fenton*, *Carlie*, and *Dunbar*,
That during the reigne of *this King*
lay *sucking* at the *breasts* of the state,
nor were some of them *weaned* long
after his *Death*, The last of which
swallowed at one *gulp* together with
the *Chancellorship of the Exchequer*,
all the *standing wardrobe*, wherein
were more *Jewels*, *Pearle*, *Rich
Robes* and *Princely Apparell*, then
ever any *King of Scotland* (if all of
them put together) could call his
own before; all which I have since
heard rated by the *Officers* at an *in-
credible summe*, whose *servants*
did use to *shew* them for *Money*, It

appearing none of the least rarities in *London* before this great dissolution. And for *James Hayes*, after *Earle of Carlile*, though of no more Noble extraction then the immediate Son of a Scotch Merchant, an appellation some under a Stall would scorne to Patronize, it is known he did bestow more trimming in the varnish of a *mainscot carcasse*, then any of his Masters Ancesters did in the clothing themselves and their whole Families. Nor was the Honour of *Anthill* a small present made at one time to the *Earl of Kelly*, especially by a Prince that had never been able to Match it, but through the benevolence, if I may not rate it at the folly of a Nation, of whose ruine he became the first and principall Instrument. Yet as if these ancient Standards, and so by consequence the more tolerable, because companions

panions in his lower condition, had not been enough to eclipse the glory of *England*, This ungratefull Prince (if I may call him so that cannot in Justice deserve, from one borne under *Queene Elizabeth*, a better Title) to make our miseries hereditary, called up *Robert Carre* from a poore Page, and to the dishonour of our Antient Nobility, raised him to as high a Title, and as great an estate (three hundred thousand pounds being rated to the Crown upon his fall) as most Earles of *England*: But there appears so many leaves lying between his advancement and ruine, as I am not at this time prepared to remove.

31. King James studying only to keep things quiet during his own time, without any other care of his Posterity then what related to the safety they brought to his person. And

L 4

finding

finding *Bishops* the best *Church Government* yet discovered in the pursuance of *Monarchy*, whereas a *Parity* in *Ecclesiasticall affaires* did portend a propensity to *Popularity* in the *State*. He looked upon *Presbytery* in his own country with no lesse feare, then *disdaine*: yet believing it impossible to un-hinge the *Nobility* and *Gentry* from the hold they had already taken on the *Clergy*, in which lay the best claime they had to *Church Lands*, nor the *Priests* from their *Patrons* to whom they were houshold *Chaplaines*, or of so meane parts as unlikely to hold the pittance they enjoyed in the company of any severer power then their owne; Besides the nature of man is better content with a little in freedom, then far more with Constraint. He indeavours to joyne both Nations in a *Union*; but not willing to gratify the *English* so much as to make

make them participate of the *Scottish* immunities, But rather to bend their necks to our yoke, He intimates a Parliament; And before their assembling indeavours to suborne by large promises all the popular and principall speakers; hoping, the *Vowels* being at his devotion, to make the *Consonants* comply with any voice in what sence he was pleased to put upon them, or loose themselves in insignificant *Clamours*. The same project and indeavour by corrupting members, was used about seaven years after in the Parliament of undertakers, where certaine bills of Grace (as they called them) were offered to the House of Commons by the Earle of Somerset. The first Proposition, and that which came fullest up to the Kings designe, was this; That as both Nations were under one Prince, the way to obliterate all former or future difference,

L 5

ference, was to submit both to one Law, without manifesting that partial resolution he had, rather to remaine where he was, then suffer the English to share in the priviledges of Scotland: Imagining it no hard matter upon so eminent an advantage to bring the lesse readily to submit to the greater, and that where the Court did commonly reside: by which he had with one bussh stopped two of the greatest gaps did then appeare open in his Prerogative. But to this he received a like answer from his Country men, That in France, Spaine, and the Netherlands, Many Lawes and Usances were proper to some Provinces, Cities and Townes, that did not extend to other parts, though in grosse under the same Capitall Power. Nor were the Customs of Kent, Isles of Wight, Garnsy and Jerisy, &c: communicable with the rest of England, not-
with-

withstanding the contrary indeavours of many Kings and Queenes of the Nation: wherefore his Majesty might guesse at the difficulties of the attempt, to perswade the Subject out of those Lawes from whence he received any personall benefit, by his owne and all Princes else unwillingnesse to augment them. Nor would they for the present, without exposing his ancient and native Country to a rupture, innovate anything in Church Government: yet upon the Kings promise to the Nobility and his future reall performance they found a roome in their Consciencs for Bishops: Though under this fatall prediction, grounded upon the Incompliancy of the Episcopall Clergy and their naturall propensity to debate their power, That it would ruine one if not both the Nations, which our eyes have been so unhappy as to see accomplished; And through
the

*the selfe same mediation from which
wisdome expected it should come
many yeares before. Now after
the wily Scot, had purged and dis-
charged the Union from any taint or
Colour of malignity towards their
owne Nation, they drove it on with
the furiousnesse of Jehu: But the
English Parliament found members
enough intire in the duty they owed
to their Country, so farre to out-
vote those lamed in their integrity
through the hope of preferment,
as they appeared inconsiderable for
power or good conduct in the eyes
of their Prince, and no lesse base and
corrupt in those of the people; up-
on whose miscarriage all hope of
good was retracted; James sharing
so large a proportion in the folly of
Princes, That he never gratified the
Subject, but upon urgent Necessi-
ty, or by way of Barter; which
made their Representative consider
him*

him at best but in the relation of a Merchant, and themselves as Countrymen brought up only to be frozen'd.

32. Yet the many no lesse bitter then rationall Speeches made in the House of Commons against this Conjunction could not rebate the Scottish impudence, from indeavouring to bring in by the back and formerly unknowne way of Prerogative, that the Parliament, hitherto the sole Guard of Propriety, had refused all hope of entrance to, through any legall passage. And for the more effectuall promotion of this, The Earle of Dunbar, making use of the advantage his place offered him, did sound the Barons of the Exchequer, and though Altam and his brother afforded him small encouragement, Tanfield and Snig, the first no lesse famed for Corruption, then the other for Ignorance

norance, gave him the assurance of their *Compliance* in Judgment with whom *Cook* was reported to concurre, though a known Antagonist to the chiefe Baron *Tanfield*, in most things else, wherein any difficulty did seeme to appeare: But though *two* of these had gained the height of opinion for *Law* in those times, *Cook* was thought over full of *levity* and both of them too low situated in *honour* and *grace* with the *Nobility*, to drive on so weighty and ungratefull a designe, without any hope of better successe then contempt or a present confutation wherefore the *Chancellor Egerton* was prevailed upon so farre, partly out of *hope*, but chiefly for *fear*, lest the King (as after he did) should send him a writ of *ease*, grown now old, or by calling his *corruption* into question discharge him of his employment, did undertake in

the *Star-chamber* to prove in a long speech, That all the Scots, borne since his Majesties possession of the Crowne of England, were legally free Denizons of this Nation: James refusing to include those formerly in being, lest he should in his owne time have tasted the bitter consequence of so unjust an intrusion upon the *Liberty* of that people which had without any disturbance suffered him to enter. And this Argument rendred the *Chancellor* seaven times more the object of *Reproach* then he was before: The *Speech* being thought by the *English* above the desert of the cause, as too elaborate, considering the prejudice it brought, and by the *Scots* below it; Many of his owne profession arraigning it of *Ignorance* and *mistakes*: But the *Commons* looked upon him as the owner not only of a brazen *Impudence* in daring to oppose

pose his *single Opinion* to a whole *Parliament*, but were ready to hisse at the invalidity of his *assertions*; *Protesting* them as much *against Law* (in which, having no skill, I shall not meddle) as *Reason, Conscience*, and the generall proceedings of the world both ancient and Modern.

33. The promoters of the *V-nion* in the *house of Commons*, no lesse then the *Chancellor* in the *house of Lords*, did, besides many rebukes and *scoffes*, meet with some such answers as these. *That since no Lord of a Rich-mannor would accept the offer of one more poore, upon the condition of enter-commoning, lest he should beggar his best Tenants, without making his warst considerable, so &c.*

That no people indu'd with the natural desire of Preservation, being happy at that instant, would admit the
Prince

Prince of a Beggarly Nation to reign over them, how just soever his claime was, for fear of loosing their propriety, as dear as Life it selfe, and so as vigorously to be defended.

Some Corporations explode for Forrainers such as are not bred in the place; All, those born out of the Nation. And if these last objections owned a countenance sterne enough in the Opinions of many to face the entrance of James himselfe, it cannot but raise a doubt how his admittance should make way for the whole Nation to follow him.

He that considers the enmity that hath ever been between Scotland and England, with their propensity to drive on a Feud through many Generations, cannot think of our mixing without trembling: There being some affinity in blood, lawes, customes, and affection betwixt the Welch and us, none with &c.

If

If the French, being in our possession, were allowed to export Wool, Cloth &c. it was in lieu of Wine and other Commodities they brought us: But what have the Scots of their owne growth, but Eggs, Barnicles, and such drugs for the cure of the Jaundies, as may be found under our hedges, though not in so great quantities. Wherefore since in all Communities, a reciprocall contribution is required, and without which the body Politique cannot flourish, what an irreparable losse should we have sustained through such a Conjunction.

The Romans had many Rich Cities, Nations, and Colonies that were not sharers in the freedome of Rome, looked upon as a speciall favour and only Communicable at the benevolence of the Senate: Legible in their story, no lesse then the Scripture, where though Saint Paul was free borne, Claudius Lyfias the chiefe-

these Captaine, farre above him in
gnity, was faine to obtaine it for a
great Summe.

Though Sicily, Naples, Millain be
within the Title, no lesse then Juris-
diction of the most Catholick King,
these have no more power to trade
the Indies, then those unhappy peo-
ple have to traffique in any part of
Castile.

Nature hath taught every Nation
particular Ingenuity to provide for
its own Necessities, which upon the
successe of another must be either ex-
ceeded, and so undone, or go beyond
the new commer, and ruin him. There-
fore since we had no want of Inhabi-
tants of our own, such a beggerly ad-
dition must needs be destructive. The
Scot like the the poore Swisse (yet bet-
ter provided for and nearer the Sun
then he) finds a more commodious a-
biding under every Climate, then at
home: which as it makes the Swisse to
venter

venture their lives in the quarrell
any Prince for Mony, so this Northern
people are known to do, or turn
Pedlers, being become so cunning
through necessity, that they ruine
about them: Manifest in Ireland
where they usually say None of any
other country can prosper that
comes to live within the Kennis
in a Scot.

If our Saviour Christ, the King
of Kings, whose treasure can never
be exhausted, said, though in ano-
ther dialect, It is not meet, that it
not just nor expedient, to give the
Childrens bread to &c. Can any
think it Prudent or Legall to share the
fruits of England with the Sonnes
the Locusts and Daughters of the
Horseleach.

To conclude, Reason would faine
be satisfied from those that main-
taine the Legality of the union.
Whether, if Queen Elizabeth had
married

ried the Duke of Muscovy, as
did by his Embassadors desire it,
whole Nation (though farre a-
Scotland in value) should
had a naturall Denization in
land.

10. At this time the honour of
ighthood, which Antiquity reser-
sacred, as the cheapest and rea-
Jewel to present vertue with,
promiscuously laid on any head
ging to the Yeomanry, (made
through pride and a contempt
their Ancestors pedigree) that
but a Court-friend, or money to
chase the favour of the meanest
to bring him into an outward
me, when the King, the fountaine
honour, came downe, and was un-
rupted by other businesse: In
ich case it was then usuall for him
grant a Commission for the Cham-
aine or some other Lord to do
But experience soon informed
the

the empty *Scot*, That as this airy
Treasure was inexhaustible, so
 might be turned to great profit, see-
 ing the shoales of base and ignorant
Trouts that gaped after it (The
 cause, access to the King was made
 daily more difficult:) By this reason-
 dering the *Temple of honour*, a com-
 mon *Theater*, into which the base
 were suffered to enter for the
Many.

35. Now this shower of *Digni-
 ties* falling upon all, without any
 more serious consideration than for
 your or profit, whole houses were
 ruined: For ancient *Gentlement*, find-
 ing themselves preceded by *business*
Families; only for having the Im-
 pudence or luck to be *dub'd* before
 them, and being despised, or spurned
 red on through their wives *ambition*
 or their own shame, fell into
 that Trap gilded with the title
Baronet, for which they were

ay a thousand pounds, as is expressed in their *Patent*: no slight Caveat for the vanity of it, And how short liv'd that *honour* must needs be that was built upon no stronger basis then the mercenary consideration of such a summe; Riches for the most part being the lot of Covetous and dejected Spirits. Besides, Augmentation of Titles puts a higher imposition upon all expenses; since that before, being considered as a Gentleman, could compose his charge within such a precise rate, Now double did not serve the turn: Men in honour, contrary to the elements of Frugallity, being not seldom compelled to proportion their sayings out to their Dignities, not their port to their Ability: For Wives, Daughters, Sonnes, and Servants cannot all, if any do, regulate their minds to the Estate, But fix their eyes upon the glittering splendor

splendor of this new *Star of Honour*,
And do by that *steer their expense*,
till of a suddaine they fall into so
deep an *Ocean of Debt*, as they are
never able to preserve their *anci-*
ent Lands, but are forced to *sell*,
die in a *prison*, or play at bo-peep
all the remainder of their daies with
their *Creditors in London*.

36. *Baronies, Earldomes &c.*
were sold to the *English* that had
wherewithall to buy them, in any of
the three Nations; But the *Scots*,
the principall actors in this *Come-*
dy of Pride, were allowed a free
entrance into the houses of digni-
ty at their pleasure. And here may
be observed upon what base and *un-*
equall termes the *English* were dealt
withall; That had no place in the
Parliament of Scotland, though
made *Barons* there, yet such of that
Nation as owned the like titles here,
were not only called by *Writ* to the
house

house of Lords, but sat in the *Star-Chamber*; a Court I do not remember to have seen any *Scots* appear in as *criminalls*, many as *Judges*.

37 The palpable *partiality* that descended from the *Father* to the *Scots*, did estate the whole *love* of the *English* upon his *Son Henry*: whom they ingaged by so much *expectation*, as it may be doubted, whether it ever lay in the power of any Prince meerly humane, to bring so much *felicity* into a Nation, as they did all his Life propose to themselves at the Death of *King James*. For my owne particular, though I may concurre so far with the *generall voyce* of the whole Kingdome, as to allow him the highest epithets belonging to an *active*, *generous* and *Noble Cavalier*, yet I want not cause in experience, by suspending my future Judgment, To avoid their common
M *mistake,*

mistake, who think all such virtues lost in the untried dead, as are found absent in him that had the luck to Succeed: It being the usuall condition of these high Planets, to conceale all Malignity in their temper, till by the Suns setting they become Supreme themselves, and have the raines in their owne hands: For before they can never think they are secure, nor after apprehend a possibility of loosing their power. The cause many Princes let their Passions loose towards all excesse and Impieties, when their Country hath most use of their temperance and moderation. I say not this out of any propensity to their Opinions who are apt to prognosticate a future ill out of the present shew of Goodnesse in men so highly bred, or to rob him of the happinesse to be allow'd virtuous, which descends to all from Charity till the contrary appears:

appeares: But to justify the truth of Story, where you may find *as few abominable Princes, as tolerable Kings.*

The reason may be, An advantage they have to see *what is disgusted in their Father*, which is *avoyded* for the present, more out of popularity then *dislike*: For though Absolon, to attaine his ends, might appeare *a better Justicer* then David, it is great odds but upon *success* he had proved as Tyrannicall as Solomon or Rehoboham. Besides the terrible condition a Prince for the most part lives in, Since an ordinary father punisheth that in his Son with a gentle reproofe, which Kings are often known to do by a mortall Poyson. The truth is, Prince Henry never arrived at the great test, Supremacy in power, that leaves the will wholly to its owne guidance; being not only set out of the reach

of *Reprooffe*, but hears his *actions* approved by some, though in their true nature they appeare never so ugly.

38. The Government of his house was with much *discretion*, *Modesty*, *Sobriety*, and (which was looked upon as too great an upbrayding the contrary proceedings of *his Father*) in an high reverence to *piety*, not *swearing* himselfe, or keeping any that did: Through which he came to be advanced beyond an ordinary measure in the affections of the *City*; to whome he was not only *plausible* in his carriage, but *Just* in payments: so farre as his credit out reached the *Kings* both in the *Exchange* and the *Church*. In which the *Son* could not take so much *Felicity*, as the *Father* did discontent, to find all the worth he imagined in himselfe, wholly lost in the hopes the people had

had of this young Gentleman. From whence *Kings* may be concluded *farre more unhappy then ordinary men*: for though, whilest *Children* are young, they may afford them *safety*, yet when arived at *that age*, which useth to bring *comfort* to *other Parents*, they produce only *jealousies* and *feares*: For if *deformed*, *foolish* or *vicious*, they offend the *naturall disposition* of a *Father*, who cannot but desire his *Issue perfect*; if they prove otherwise, and be *excellent*, that of a *Prince*: Because *his Raigne* must needs be thought *dimme* and tedious who hath such a *spark* to succeed him as this *Henry*, which in all mens *Judgments* appeared more *Illustrious* then his *old Father*. Thus are *King* found *as remote from Felicity with Children*, *as from safety without*: And as *the last* of these considerations have tempted some

to acknowledge the Issue of Strangers and such as their Wives have come to by chance, so the first hath provoked as many to make-away their owne.

And, if common fame did not out-strip Truth, King James was by feare led into this extreme: finding his Son Henry not only averse to any Popish match, but saluted by the Puritans as one prefigured in the Apocalypse, for Romes destruction. And to parallell this, one Ball a Taylor was inspired with a like Lunacy, though something more chargeable; for not only he, but Ramsy his Majesties watch-maker, put out mony and Clocks, to be paid (but with small advantage, considering the Improbabillity) when King James should be crowned in the Popes Chair. Nor did Henry carry his body so swimming, as the knowne depth fo his fathers jealousies

sies and shallownesse of his feares did require: con-temning so farre at first his election of *Sommerſet*, as he was reported either to have strook him on the Back with his Racket, or very hardly forbore it. But who can expect a *Prince* should prove anything, considering his Education, much lesse a *Polititian*? The last *Earle of Essex* being his play fellow, and few Gentlemen of worth, his counsell, though many his attendants: It being in no case safe to advise a *Prince* during the life of his Father, nothing remaining in prudence possible to be said in relation to his safety, but must reflect upon the honour of the King, or the prudence of himselfe: The smallest intimation in that kind falling (if revealed, and what can youth and folly conceale) within the compasse of Treason. It is so common with Report to rate the sicknesse or death of Prin-

ces at the price of *Poyson*, as I should quite have omitted this *conjecture*, or left it wholly to the decision of *Posterity* ; Though I believe few *Kings* are by *their Servants* (whose eyes are more fixed upon *Hope*, which relates to the *future*, then *Gratitude*, by the generallity of *Courtiers* declined, as not respecting the *present Time*) so fairely delt withall at that *article*, in which meaner men receive *Indulgence from Enemies* ; had I not heard by many, his *Father did dread him*, And in particular from Mr. *Primrose the Princes Foster-brother* of high esteeme with him; and that the *King*, though he would not deny any thing he plainly desired, yet it appeared rather the result of *feare* and outward compliance, then *Love* or naturall affection ; being harder drawne to confer an *honour* or *Pardon*, in cases of desert, upon a *retainer to the Prince*,

Prince, then a *stranger*. From whence might be calculated a *Malignity* conceived in his heart against the splendor of *his Sonnes Retinue*; Manifested after his death by an *injunction* of *Charles Duke of York*, and a *Command* he gave to the *Lord Chamberline* of the Kings house, not to suffer any to be inrolled his *Sonnes servants*, without his knowledge. And though this may warrant the Reasonableness of their Judgments who did look upon *Henry* rather as a *terror*, then a *Comfort* to the King, yet he did not take any visible notice of the great concourse about him, till by *Archy his Fester* he was called to the observation of it on the *plaines* about *New Market* when he and the Prince parted: few being left with the *Father* and those *meane persons*, which drew *teares* from him, but the passion did not last long, nor he when

he had recollected him selfe forbear
(which might have increased the
suspicion of the consequence) to
reprove the fellow, who, being *more*
Scot then Foole, was able to mind
one that filled a wiser roome, That
it is *the Religion of some Nations*, but
the Custome of all, To adore the rising
Sun, and contemne him at his going
downe. I confesse I did my selfe
question Archy long after about
it, but he *talked* though in the *af-*
firmative so loud and wildly, that I
was affraid to waken the attenti-
ons of the standers by: This I have
heard by divers, that he was after
every night they could meet him
tossed like a Dog in a blanket. The
Prince died at *Saint James's* having
all his sicknesse no *paine* but in his
head, being *heart-whole* to the
last. Sir *Theodore Mayerne* a French
Phyfitian and in great esteem would
have had him *let blood*, but the
English

English did reject the Counsell as too desperate, in respect of themselves, who might possibly offend no lesse by his recovery, then death; ordinarily imputed to those *Physitians* that meet with *Patients* who do not recover after the opening a veyne. I remember Sir *Walter Rawly* before his going to *Guiana* (to whom *Prince Henry* was a great friend, and for whose satisfaction he penned his *History* &c.) owned, though not in full words at length, as much in substance as was then every wherereported. But when I reach the misfortunes of *Robert Carre*, (if they may be called so, that at the worst exceeded the best his birth could promise) I may have occasion to say more.

39. In the meane time the reason *King James* was so poorely followed, especially in his *Journies*, was his partiality used towards the
Scots,

Scots, which hung like *Horsleeches* on him, till they could get no more, falling then off by retiring into their owne Country, or living at ease, leaving all *chargeable attendance* to the *English*. The harvest of the Love and honour he reaped being sutable to the ill husbandry he used in the unadvised distribution of his favours: For of a number of empty vessells he filled to compleat the measure of our Infelicity, few proved of use to him, unlesse such as by reason of their vast runnings-out had daily need of a new supply: And amongst these the Earle of Carlile was one of the *Quorum*, that brought in the Vanity of *Ante-Suppers*, not heard of in our forefathers time, and for ought I have read, or at least remember, unpractised by the most *luxurious Tyrants*. The manner of which was, to have the board covered, at the
first

first entrance of the Ghefts, with dishes, as high as a tall man could well reach, filled with the choycest and dearest viands sea or land could afford: And all this once seene & having feasted the eyes of the Invited, was in a manner thrown away, and fresh set on to the same height, having only this advantage of the other, that it was hot. I cannot forget one of the attendants of the King, that at a feast made by this Monster in excesse, ate to his single share a whole Pye reckoned to my Lord at Ten pounds, being composed of Amber-greece, Magesteriall of Perle, Musk &c. yet was so far (as he told me) from being sweet in the morning, that he almost poysoned his whole family, flying himselfe like the Satyr from his owne stinck. And after such Suppers huge Banquets no lesse profuse, a waiter returning his Servant home with a Cloak-bag full of dried Sweet-meats & Confects, valued.

lued to his Lordship at more then
ten shillings the pound. I am cloyd with
the repetition of this *excesse*, no lesse
then scandalized at the continuance
of it: For when the most able *Physiti-
ans* and his own *weaknesse* had passed
a judgment, *he could not live many
daies*, he did not forbear his *enter-
tainements*, but made divers *brave
cloathes*, as he said, *to out face naked
and despicable Death withall*: blas-
pheming *God* so far in the person of
his handmaid *Nature*, as to say *she
wanted Wisdome, Love or Power*, in
*making man Mortall & subject to dis-
eases*: Forgetting that if every *Indivi-
duall* his owne *lust* had been able to
have produced should have prosecu-
ted an equall *excesse* with his, they
would in a far less time then an *Age*
have brought *themselves* or the *world*
into the same *disease* he died of, which
was a *consumption*. He lay always un-
der the comfortable aspect of *King*

James

James his favour, though I never found him in his bosome, a place reserved for younger men, & of more in-deering Countenances: And these went under the appellation of his Favorites or Minions, who like Burning-glasses were daily interposed between him and the Subject, multiplying the heate of oppressions in the generall opinion, though in his own he thought they screened them from reflecting upon the Crown: Through the fallacy of which *Maxime* his Son came to be ruined; it being unlikly any Prince should abate in the account of his people, that hath no bodies expenses or faults to reckon for but his own. Now as no other Reason appear'd in favour of their choyce but handsomeness, so the love the King shewed was as amorously conveyed as if he had mistaken their Sex, & thought them Ladies. Which I have seen *Sommerfet* & *Buckingham* labour to resemble, in the
effe.

effeminatenesse of their dressings. Though in *w — lookes* and wanton *gestures* they exceeded any part of *woman kind* my Conversation did ever cope withall. Nor was his *Love*, or what else posterity will please to call it (who must be the Judges of all that History shall informe) carried on with a *discretion* sufficient to cover a lesse *scandalous behaviour*; for the *King's kissing* them after so *lascivious a mode* in publick; & upon the *Theater* as it were of the world, *prop*ted many to Imagine some things done in the *Tyring house*, that exceed my expressions no lesse then they do my experience: And therefore left floting upon the waves of *Conjecture*, which hath in my hearing tossed them frō one side to another.

40. I have heard that Sir *Henry Rich*, since *Earle of Holland*, & some others *refused his Majesties favour* upon those *conditions* they subscrib.

ed.

ed to, who filled that place in his Affection: *Rich* loosing that opportunity *his curious face* and *Complection* afforded him, by *turning aside & spitting* after the King had *slaber'd his Mouth*: who though numbered amongst the Gods upon earth, yet any that will be so inquisitive as to rake in his dust, may find as many frailties as ever man stood charged with, of which this was none of the lightest, doubling the weight of his oppression: For the setting up of these golden Calves cost England more then Queen Elizabeth spent in all her wars

41. Amongst a number of other novelties he brought a new Holy-day into the Church of England, wherein God had publick thanks given him for his Majesties deliverance out of the hands of Earle Goury: & this fell out upon the first of August, on which many lies were told either at home or abroad, in the Quire of Pauls Church,
or

or the *long walk*: For no *Scotch-man* you could meet beyond sea but did *laugh at it*, & the *peripatetique Politicians* said the *Relation in print* did *murder all possibility of credit*. But I will not *wade* farther in this business, not knowing how dangerous the *bottom* may prove, being by all mens relations *foule and bloody*: having nothing to palliate it but *Jealousy* on the one side, and *feare* on the other; two weak supporters to keep upright so great a—especially so far as to *ruine* a whole and noble family, for a fault known to be *afterwards committed* without the least question. Now if any thing farther deserves consideration it is the *misfortune of Kings*, who once lapsed into a *publick error* cannot *recall* it, though the *continuance* of it reflect *dishonour to God*; not unpossibly the cause *this held out all his raigne*. Nor did any *credit his Son* gave it *Justify it* farther then ordinary

nary report, which in the generality took it for a meer *Figment of State* and was buried with its Author.

42. Nor will the Story of the *Lord Treasurer Buckhurst* fall in unproperly here, who being a very corrupt man, or much abused, did lay claime to some part of the *Kentish Lucy's land* that lay contiguous to his own, and mistrusting the integrity of any other or more *Legall triall*, did by the highnesse of his hand bring it to the *Councell Table* (where about this time many causes were shamefully carried, and from whence the most excellent Chancellor for parts that ever sat in that Court might derive the most capitall of his faults) And after some debate, the *Treasurer* standing up and offering to pull out of his bosome papers, that were pretended for their Lordships full and finall satisfaction, he fell down dead, as called to answer at a higher *Tribunall*. Neither
hath

hath any since, as I have been told by some of the family, ever questioned *Lucy's land*, in the quiet possession of which he was thus miraculously estated. Some yeares after meeting with the Secretary of *Richard Earle of Dorset* (a noble Gentleman and of good parts, had they not been poisoned; together with the owner, by a future malice & jealousy in the Duke of *Buckingham* that he was his enemy) he told me the Treasurer was subject to swooning, which happening in a place where there was so little help, it became his death. He was much given to *Women and Corruption*, in the generall opinion; After whom these verses were sent, it being the fashion of the Poets all my daies, to summe up great mens virtues or vices upon their Graves. These with many more to a like sense belonging to this man.

*Discourteous Death that would'st
not once conferre,
Or daigne to parly with our Trea-
surer :*

*Had he been Thee, or of thy fatall
Tribe,
He would have spar'd a life to
gaine a bribe.*

Another,

*Here lies a Lord that Wenching
thought no sinne,
And bought his flesh by selling of
our Skinne :*

*His name was Sackvile, and so
voyd of pitty.*

*As he did rob the Country with
the City.*

43. The match James made be-
tween Elizabeth his eldest Daugh-
ter, and the Elector of Rheine, con-
trary to the graine of the Catholick
Church, and the desires of her Mo-
ther, who looked upon it so much
below her, as she could not re-
fraine.

fraine to call her *Goodwife Palsgrave* before she had put off her wedding shooes, bred, at a distance, such a hope in the *Hugonotes* that remain'd yet under persecution or restraint, & pride in those already emancipated through their *Governours* licorishnesse after the choice morsells of the Church, & their own desire to change their manner of Service, (growen foul in their opinions, an unavoydable result of time, especially if prompted by more Learning then discretion) That they feeded their *Imaginations* with all the miraculous felicities & deliverances, by the *Divers* into the deep mysteries of *Daniel* & the *Revelation* supposed to be reserved in the bottome of all one things: *The fall of the Pope* and those principallities adhering to him, appearing as manifestly painted in their oylie fancies, as the curious may find them in *Hugh Broughton*, or the frontispieces of divers books the zeale was

some so

some, & *Licentiousnesse* of others did then make publick: which, strook a damp in the *German Casars* affaires, causing the exchange to go high in the *Diets*, so as upon the demands of contribution, though against the *Turk*, a greater *liberty of conscience* was propounded by the followers of *Luther* and *Calvin*, and some suspicion of change feared from those not yet revolted. But how ever this might work to the *disadvantage* of our Kings Judgment abroad (who was thought to do it, to render himselfe the *Umpire of all Christian differences*, which he much delighted in, no less then confidence he had to bring all to one conformity, a project not to be cut off but with the head of &c.) it settled much in the opinion of his Subject, who in the *house of Cōmons* did upon all occasions testify their *compliance* to this conjunction. Now whether it was hope or feare, according to the
Opinion

on of the Cath: & Polititians, or a supine carelesness & desire to be rid of her with the least expense, as all the Ladies friends suggested, or pure zeale to Religion, as some simple people thought, or, what was most probable, a composition of all the three first mentiōed passions, induced the King to submit to such *meane conditions*, I leave to the reader to Judg: and only observe that, though in relation to *Person & virtue*, he might deservedly hold a room in the greatest Prince's bed in Europe, yet God hath not hitherto been pleased, to afford her any outward blessings, but a multitude of Children, (of which the eldest was unfortunately drowned, not without some reproach to the Father, and diminution of the rest in the opinion of the People, That do, though not seldome without cause, over value anything irrecoverably lost;) And now at last hath cast her into an ocean

of

of calamities, in which she still remaines a *floting example* to other Princes of the *Instability of Fortune*, as she did in her prosperity for *civility and goodness*. And though none need seek far for Reasons why *Judgments* should fall upon the *Children of Princes*, yet her behaviour hath been throughout so *blamelesse*, as amongst the *worst reports* the *Papists* could raise, nothing appears might prove her so great an *Actor* in ill, as she is found a *patient* in *Misery*: which makes me in charity think it rather came by *descent* then *Purchase*; unlesse God hath done it that his power may hereafter be *showne* in raising her to a *higher dignity*, then she hath already fallen from. And for her husband he lies under the condition of other men who have their *apparent misfortunes* imputed to *hidden and inward defects*.

44. It was the Opinion of those times, that the *Electors* might have sped better had be not matched with England, whose King was so *timorous* as he suffered all to perill for want of a *seasonable supply*

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that

that relied upon his power: For had *his Consort* been of a *weaker Alliance*, he had *refused the Crown of Bohemia*, when it was offered, or upon acceptance been more cordially assisted by his *fellow Princes*, already wearied with the *Emperours Oppressions*, no lesse then terrified by an expectation of worse: It being repugnant to the mode of a *Spanish pride* to rest within the compasse of any other Moderation then what is prescribed to him by the *Pillars of force*, & whereon he findes the *Inscription* of an apparent *Necessity*, or the apparition of a *future benefit*. But assistance composed of so many peices is seldome successfull & often dangerous to such as rely upon them: of which *Charles the fifth* left a precedent at their owne doores, in the person of the *Duke of Saxony*, and the *Landgrave van Hesse*, who by enterfering in their Counsells tripped up the heeles of themselves & a greater Army then *Mauritius* Son in-law to the *Landgrave* Commanded alone, when he made the same victorious Emperour
who

who had together with that Title inclusive in his person the *Kingdome of Spain*, crawl over the *Alpes* by torch light, and after hide his head in a *Monastery*. Yet besides their own neglect, & the great confidence they had in *King James* (whom they looked upon as engag'd by honour & nature in the *German* quarrells at least so far as the value of the *Crowne of Bohemia* extended) they were not to seek of a suspicion, that in case the *Elector* should attain the *Emperiall diadem* (not possibly to have been denied him upon successe) That with his own force, & the assistance of *Britanny*, he might not only have imposed upon the *Lutherans* consciences (some what of a contrary Creed to his) but have left them no sense of ease in the change. Nor was the *Lady Elizabeth* yet so far removed from a possibility of attaining one day the *Crowne of England*, her brother being not only single, but lying in the opinions of many under an aversion to Marriage, as might insure Suspicion, which can never apprehend power

'at distance enough, from those they think may imploy it to the prejudice of their Liberty who have formerly lain under the weight of bondage. Some Parasites cri'd it up to the height of a Propheticall wisdom in K. James, that he would not suffer his Son to be prayed for in our Churches by the title of King of Bohemia, but clearer Judgments saw it no hard matter to determine of his fortune, whose good or bad successe lay wholly in his hands.

45. I have had the most, if not all may be found here, out of *Letters*, which I ever looked upon as *the best & purest intelligence*, in one of which I had this inserted, that *Prince Henry gave the first encouragement to the Prince Elector to attempt his Sister, desiring more to head an Army in Germany, then he durst make show of, and would no doubt have been bravely followed. That his thoughts flew high, hundreds of his Servants are yet in being to witnesse, together with the Love he seemed to bear his sister, before his Brother; whom he would often taunt till he made him*

him weep, telling him *he should be a Bishop, a gowne being the fittest to hide his leggs, subject in his Childhood to be crooked.* Nor did all this put together lengthen his *Life* in the desires of many. Besides I have been told that *Sr Walter Rawly* did mediate his favour by a *Discourse* he sent him, proving *no war could be so necessary or advantageous for England, as one with Spaine;* alledging for it many *Reasons & examples,* as well out of the practice of the late *Queene,* as his own experience: no Prince else being able to pay for or bear the expense of a *Royall Navy,* which once in a year he would without question accomplish by our *intercepting* some or most part of the *Plate Fleet,* all Nations besides being but *Sea-Pedlers.* Wherefore if *Philip the second* cut off his owne hopefull & only Son *Charles,* for but pitying the people of *Flanders,* it can be no wonder he should promote the destruction of a *Stranger* that did so far applaud the advice of *Rawly,* as to say *No King but his Father would keep such a bird in a*

Cage. But to leave this to the faith of *Posterity* that shall have not only the *Opportunity* to see but the *liberty* to judge of the most probability in every *Relation*; the *actions* of *Kings* being written in such *dark Characters* & relating to so many severall ends, as they are not easily deciphered; I shall returne to the *German affaires*, towards which had *England* contributed proportionable to the *Head of an Union*, it may be presumed from the *King of Swedens* successe, who had at the beginning no such advantages to rely on, that the eclipsing if not the ruin of the house of *Austria* had not been adjourned to so long a day. And he that shall turne over the *Advise's* of these times may without any danger or much trouble find what *Opinion* the *Germans* had of us, And in how great a disaray it cast their proceedings, when the *smallness* of the *Lord Vere's* forces were known; but when they read a *Commission* only inabling him to do nothing, they apprehended themselves, some out of malice,

lice betrai'd, others that knew the temper of King James better, were so charitable as to impute it to the true cause, which was *his feare*, upon whose Altar he was not only ready to sacrifice his present honour and future safety, but the blood of those he stiles in all his Manifesto's, *his dearest Children*.

46. For after his daughter, and the Elector were crowned King and Queene of Bohemia, they lost together with *this Shadow* all her Substance, and what he was for so many descents born to, the Palatinate, at the Battaille of Prague, where few blowes were dealt on the Electors side; reported to be so mad as to think the Souldier would venter his Life in a cause, where he whom it most concerned, was affraid to hazard his mony: It being then too late to spare, when honour and Fortune lye at the stake. By which this Miserable Prince did not only loose what he might possibly have gained, but most of the wealth he desired to save: no Passions being observed so in-

compatible with *success*, as when *Ambition* like that of *Galba's*, is found in a covetous Nature; by which the *Souldier* is not seldome tempted out of disdain to quit his owne post, and adhere to a party he never did, till the discovery of this base humour, affect so well as that he deserts. Nor is it likely any should prosper (especially in a field expedition) against the house of *Austria*, that is not as prodigall of gold as blood: it having been the late practice of this wise Nation to obtain victory through the mediation of *mony & policy*, rather then *strength*, leaving nothing to *Fortūe* but what she must needs: which may support the validity of their Opinions that think the *Spaniard* least impregnable at Sea, where he hath neither time nor opportunity to Corrupt &c.

47. Sir *Richard Weston*, since *Treasurer* and *Earle of Portland*, was, when they looked for an *Army*, sent to mediate a *Peace*: By whose help, according to report, the *Electōr* and his *Lady* found meanes, though with much difficulty, to
escape.

escape to the *Hague* with their new assumed *empty titles*, having nothing else to support them but *Patience & Hope*, the only and ordinary comfort of those deprived of all help besides. Yet I have heard from many (for I delight to set down every probable relation) that they thought *Weston* too farre ingaged to the *Catholicks* to be author of so ungratefull a service. But this being *his first Im- ployment*, no lesse then a desire in the *Pope* to see the power of the *Emperour* moderated, who began to *incroach* upon the pretended *immunities of the Church*, he might not improbably take this advantage to render *his Embassy* the more acceptable upon his returne to the people of *England*, if not to the *King*: Persons of their *Quality* falling seldome under the *Sword*, and therefore thought perhaps better thrift to maintaine them *at liberty* then *in restraint*, or redeem them at such a *ransome* as a victorious Prince might impose, to the payment of which *his Master* was ingaged in *Honour* and *nature*.

48. How-

48. However I am more charitable then to conclude *all Papists employ'd by this King so dishonest as to falsify their trust*: for if that followed as a necessary consequence, God help this poor Nation, that had before, then, and long after, few Commissioned in any affaire of importance but such as were that way affected or wholly Indifferent. It being the intent of Providence to use his help, it may be, as he did of *Pharo's daughter*, to preserve this *virtuous Lady* out of danger, whose *Misfortunes* have kindled such a *fire in Germany*, as not unpossibly, before it be extinguish'd, may lick up the choycest *bloud* in the *Austrian family*: Of which this seemes to me as a signe, that ever since they began some one or other hath prosecuted the like attempt; Amongst whom was *Count Mansfield*, that had little else but his owne *fortune and valour* to carry him so far as he went. But what he punctually did or promised to do was at too great a distance for me to perceive more then I could learne from the

the *Eccho* it made at *Court*, which sounded diversly according to the *inclinations* and *hollownesse* of their *hearts* that made the *reverberation*. This I can attest upon knowledge, that *Mansfield* was in appearance well received here: But whether K: *James* could like a man that laboured to bring in so *Anti-monarchicall* a precedent, as to struggle for *liberty* with his *native Prince*, I cannot but question; who did daily inculcate into the people, through the mediation of his *Divines*, and by the terrour of the *Law*, that no other refuge was left in any saving experiment during the unjustest & most cruell Tyranny, but *prayers and teares*; A tenent if he had believed himselfe, or thought such as owned either *prudence* or *power* did, he would doubtlesse have governed much better, or abused the Nation and debauched his succession much worse. Yet to give a countenance to a businesse he had so shamefully disparaged before, he sent for the Count over in one of his *ships royall*, which was
cast

cast away upon the English coasts, an example as remote from a Precedent as for a mighty Prince to be a quiet Spectator of the ruine of his family.

Such as were of the Spanish Faction spake most disgracefully of Count Mansfield: forgetting the lower footing they assigned for his rise, the more admirable they proclaimed his dexterity in mounting himselfe so high; who at his going from hence was furnished with men and mony, the most of them lost before their Landing: such proceedings being much in use with King James, who like a ready Horse, did often seeme to the world as if he meant to runne, yet did little more in effect then stand still. But here my pen is stopped through indisposition; wherefore I must conclude this under the notion at least of a first part.

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651 [OSBORN (Francis)]. HISTORICAL MEMOIRS on the Reigns of Queen Elizabeth and King James. London, J. Grismond . . . to be sold by T. Robinson in Oxon, 1658. 12mo, FIRST EDITION, half calf antique.

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Contains much interesting court gossip and was reprinted by Sir Walter Scott in his *Secret History of James I.*

Colin Richardson 1958